

**TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY**  
**The Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico;**  
**Castro's Hand in Puerto Rican and**  
**U.S. Terrorism**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE**  
**ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY**  
**ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

**NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS**

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### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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MARY E. DOOLEY, *Research Director*

## RESOLUTION

*Resolved* by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the testimony of Francisco Martinez, taken in executive session, and the testimony of Alfonso L. Tarabochia, taken in executive session, on July 30, 1975, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman*.

Approved: November 6, 1975.

(11)

## TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

### The Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1975

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 12:30 p.m., in room 5110, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel, Alfonso Tarabochia, chief investigator; David Martin, senior analyst; Robert J. Short, senior investigator; and Mary E. Dooley, director of research.

Senator THURMOND. Terrorist bombings by Puerto Rican revolutionaries, in this country and in Puerto Rico, have attracted much attention because bombings are spectacular. But information gathered by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee over the past several years points to the conclusion that the bombings may have concealed a much more important aspect of the Puerto Rican situation. If the word of the Communists means anything, what this evidence suggests is that international communism has been using Puerto Rico as a bridgehead to infiltrate, disrupt and ultimately bring about revolution in the United States.

The leading role played by Cuba in these efforts is self-proclaimed and well publicized, because Cuba has been the fountainhead of revolution in Puerto Rico since Castro took power in 1959.

Next month, on September 5-7, Havana will be the meeting place of a Conference of Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence, sponsored by the Moscow-dominated World Peace Council.

Fermin Arraiza, leader of the delegation of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico at the Nonaligned Nations Conference in Havana made this statement on March 17, 1975:

Puerto Rico's independence is, perhaps, one of the strategic objectives of the world liberation forces and the world's anti-imperialistic forces, because the proclamation of our independence could be the spark that will start the victorious struggle for the second and true independence of the exploited and discriminated against people of the United States of America.

Arraiza left no doubts as to who was responsible for the revolutionary efforts. In the next paragraph he stated:

Cuba has been a vanguard in the international struggle of solidarity for independence of Puerto Rico.

The purpose of today's hearing is to look into this situation. We have with us today as witnesses Mr. Francisco Martinez, a dedicated Puerto Rican who has made an extensive study of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, which is the political and action arm of the Marxist revolutionary forces in the Caribbean island; and Mr. Alfonso Tarabochia, chief investigator for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, who has investigated this situation systematically from its beginning.

Mr. Martinez, the subcommittee understands that, for reasons of personal security, it is imperative that you present the testimony you are about to give today under an assumed name. You have identified yourself to the committee. The committee staff is satisfied with the integrity of your testimony. Under these circumstances, and with knowledge of your true identity, the subcommittee will take your testimony under the name you have assumed and you will be sworn under this name.

Mr. Martinez and Mr. Tarabochia, will you rise and be sworn.

The evidence you are about to give the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I do.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF FRANCISCO MARTINEZ

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Martinez, will you tell us something about your background.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I work as a consultant and researcher for several private interests in Puerto Rico industrial companies in the field of labor relations and particularly as it relates to Communist infiltration in the labor unions. I have also worked as chief researcher for a nonprofit organization sponsored by local interests. And that is my relation with the subject of these hearings, sir.

Senator THURMOND. For how many years have you worked in this field?

Mr. MARTINEZ. About 5 years, sir.

Senator THURMOND. And since you first began working in the field, you have followed the activities of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Is the Puerto Rican Socialist Party a socialist party in the sense of the European socialist parties?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, sir. It is a Marxist-Leninist party, which means it follows the line of the hard Communist parties.

Senator THURMOND. It follows the Moscow-Havana line?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Particularly the Havana line, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Right.

I believe you have a prepared statement, Mr. Martinez. It will help us, I think, if you will read your prepared statement first, and then we may have some questions, or staff may have some questions that they will want to address to you.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir. Just to put my presentation in the proper perspective, I would like to quote a statement made by Juan Mari Bras, the Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, when he was secretary of the Pro-Independence Movement.

The statement was made in January 1967, with Stokely Carmichael at his side, and it was not only significant but very ominous, especially to those who know of Juan Mari Bras' extremely close ties with the Communist regime of Cuba.

To quote him:

Just as imperialism uses Puerto Rico as a bridgehead for its penetration into Latin America, so will the MPI offer itself as a bridge over which world revolution can penetrate into the United States.

To what degree Mari Bras' threats have come to pass can be measured by a recent statement just before the terrorist act that killed four people at Fraunces Tavern in New York earlier this year. I am again quoting Mari Bras, from an editorial under his byline published in the December 3 issue of Claridad, the official newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. It says:

Don't get scared, for this is just the beginning. You don't have to be a prophet to foresee that acts of sabotage and bombings of all kinds will take place with increasing frequency.

With these statements as a background, I will proceed to present a collection of facts that show that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is not only a subversive organization, but an active instrument of a foreign government dedicated to the destruction of democratic principles on which the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is based.

Senator THURMOND. If I may interrupt at this point, Mr. Martinez, you said previously that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party follows both the Moscow and Havana line, but more the Havana line. Do you believe that it is also an instrument of Moscow?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I have no information in that regard, sir, but I have particularly detailed information about their relations with Cuba.

Senator THURMOND. And you are convinced that it is an instrument of the Castro Government in Havana?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Would you proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I will first present the history of Communist penetration in Puerto Rico.

The United States values political freedom as the highest of human rights and for that reason it has permitted, with very few restrictions, the existence of the Communist Party within the United States, though this party is committed to the destruction of the American way of life.

The Communist Party of the United States decided in 1926 to establish a branch in Puerto Rico under the cover of one of its fronts, the Anti-Imperialist League. In 1932, a Puerto Rican who had served as chief organizer for the CPUSA in Denver, Colo., was sent back to the island to establish an independent party, the Puerto Rican Communist Party. Ironically—

Senator THURMOND. If I may interrupt, what was the name of this Puerto Rican?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I don't have it right now, sir, but I believe it is contained in a previous Senate publication on the subject of violence in Puerto Rico.

Senator THURMOND. Could you provide the name for insertion in the record at this point?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I don't have it now.

Senator THURMOND. You can do it after the hearing.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, I will.

[The name of Alberto E. Sanchez subsequently was supplied by Mr. Martinez as that of the person referred to.]

Senator THURMOND. Right. Proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, like I say, ironically, the Communist threat came to Puerto Rico from the United States.

The Puerto Rican Communist Party never had more than 200 known members, but it built the foundations for a Communist movement by recruiting, indoctrinating and training the first group of Puerto Rican Communists.

The next stage in the Communists infiltration was the creation of Communist fronts. It is well known that the Communists seldom initiate their offensive by publicly announcing their goals. They know that the Marxist-Leninist ideology is hard to understand and that very few persons will feel motivated to fight for it in a Christian democratic society.

But Vladimir Lenin, the great builder of communism, discovered that non-Communists can be manipulated to achieve communist goals. He stated, in more or less these words, that:

There is no single segment of the industrial society, no class in the population, without a circle, however small, of discontented and maladjusted and alienated individuals—predisposed target audiences for radical hate propaganda—who can be hooked up to a revolutionary mass movement.

Senator THURMOND. Is this an exact quotation?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, as I indicated, it is approximate. It is very close to the original. I am very familiar with the original, but I came away without the text.

Senator THURMOND. Will you proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. In Puerto Rico it was relatively easy to find that circle of discontented and alienated individuals. With increasing Americanization of the island, a small group of intellectuals was getting increasingly worried by what they thought was the total destruction of Puerto Rico's Latin cultural tradition and heritage.

This group soon formed a Pro-Independence Party, to persuade the Puerto Rican people to break their ties with the United States. Most of them tried to follow the democratic channels, but a very small group, led by Pedro Albizu Campos, lost faith in the democratic process when they saw that the great majority of the people voted repeatedly for continued union with the United States.

In 1950, this group, the Nationalist Party, staged an unsuccessful uprising that resulted in the death or imprisonment of many of their leaders. Frustrated by their failure, the next day two nationalists attacked the official residence of President Harry Truman, Blair House, in Washington. The attack failed. One of the attackers was killed and the other was injured. A police guard was also killed.

In 1954, a group of four Nationalists attacked the U.S. House of Representatives, injuring with their guns five Congressmen. Four arrests followed this vicious terrorist act and the Nationalist Party virtually disappeared.

Senator THURMOND. If I may interrupt at this point, when you use the word "Nationalist," these are Nationalists with a capital N, not

true Puerto Rican nationalists, but members of the "Puerto Rican Nationalist Party?"

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Senator THURMOND. So, when the record is typed, I would ask the official reporter to make note of the fact that the word "Nationalist" is to be spelled with a capital N, denoting members of the Nationalist Party.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. Thank you.

Meanwhile, an enormous majority of the Puerto Ricans repudiated the attack and pledged continued allegiance to the American Nation.

In the 1956 elections, the Pro-Independence Party obtained only 12 percent of the votes.

The pro-independence activists were desperate. Then, the Communists came in to offer their help for the reconstruction of the independence forces. Two front organizations were formed by the Communists—the Federation of University Students for Independence, in 1956, and the Pro-Independence Movement in 1959. By offering the pro-independence leaders a program for the island's independence, the Communists began their revolution in Puerto Rico, using non-Communist hands—that is, by creating front organizations.

The third important step was the recruitment of young people. The Communists have always selected the youth as the target for their hate propaganda, for many reasons. First, many young people are idealistic and gullible. Second, most of the youth is unhappy with the present society. And finally, once the young people select a cause to fight for, they have the time and the energy needed to make a militant.

The best place to recruit young people is at the universities and colleges. In our free society, academic freedom is imperative, but this means that Communist teachers cannot be excluded because of their ideas from the universities, and for this reason the State provides the ideal forum for the dissemination of their destructive ideology to the young people.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you repeat that last sentence? The State provides what?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. The State provides the ideal forum for the dissemination of the Communist destructive ideology to the young people.

Mr. MARTIN. Through the universities?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Mr. MARTIN. Right, that makes it clear.

Mr. MARTINEZ. In Puerto Rico, like in many other countries, the State university was the birthplace of the first Communist front. It was called Federation of University Students for Independence. Originally, the group just called for independence and was open to anyone who wanted to join it, but from the very beginning Communist leaders directed the organization and planned the radicalization of its members.

From 1964 to 1971, the FUPI leaders promoted a total of seven riots at the University of Puerto Rico. By 1967, with the increasing involvement of the United States in Vietnam, they picked the ROTC as their target and began disrupting its military activities.



In 1969, they launched a surprise attack against the ROTC building, destroying part of the structure and a fire department truck that was summoned to the scene.

After a day of rioting in March 1970, the State police had to send its riot squad to the campus and a student was killed by a stray bullet. The police were blamed by the Communists for this death.

On the first anniversary of the 1970 riot, the Students For a Democratic Society, SDS, called for demonstrations throughout the United States in support of the Puerto Rican struggle. Seven days later, the Communists again stormed the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico. This time, several snipers

Mr. MARTIN. When you say "the Communists", was it the Communists openly demonstrating under the banner of the Communist Party, or are you referring to the student organization which was led by pro-Communist elements?

Mr. MARTINEZ. It was the Federation of University Students for Independence and some other organizations that were publicly identified as Marxist-Leninists. That is why I used the general term "Communists" referring to them.

Mr. MARTIN. Was this a demonstration that was made up solidly of Communists, or was it a demonstration in which the mass of the demonstrators were perhaps not Communists, but the leadership was Communist?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, I believe that in almost every riot situation only the hard-core are actually Communists, and they can manipulate the rest of the people into participating in the riot. As this riot developed, I believe that most of the curious people and pro-independence sympathizers moved out of the area, and, by the end of the riot, when the police came in, most of the demonstrators involved were Communists.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Like I was saying, this was in March 1971. The Communists stormed again the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico. This time, several snipers began shooting at the cadets, killing one of them. The police riot squad was summoned to quell the riot, but the Communists were prepared to face the policemen and opened fire on them with automatic weapons as soon as they dismounted from their cars. The commander of the police riot squad and another policeman were killed and several officers were injured.

These riots radicalized a number of youngsters. When they graduated from college, they took positions in every segment of society, and this gave Communism in Puerto Rico a broader base of power.

Mr. MARTIN. In the interests of precision, Mr. Martinez, unless you are certain that the entire body of demonstrators was composed of Communists, I respectfully suggest that it might be a bit more proper to speak of "Communist-led demonstrators."

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. But, you did seem to be reasonably satisfied that by the time the riots—toward the end of the riots, at any rate, those who were not hard-core Communists had drifted away, and those who remained were pretty well all hard-core Communists?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I am convinced of that, sir.

Well, the next stage of Communist infiltration of Puerto Rico was, I would call it, the appearance of a rising struggle.

Even though the Communists had a very militant group at the university, their actual strength was quite small. Outside the campuses they had very little contact with the population. To make their presence felt more strongly, they resorted to a clever combination of tools: terrorism and the news media. This tactic was quite simple. Only one person was needed to place a fire bomb inside a store. Perhaps that very same person would phone the newspapers while the fire was still raging and would transmit a press release stating that the bombing was done by a clandestine pro-independence group. The next day the news media would give a lot of free publicity to the terrorists, with articles and photographs of bomb damage.

From 1964 to 1971, many American stores throughout the island were destroyed by terrorists. The press, unwittingly, helped create the image of a rising struggle, when actually the group of terrorists never had more than perhaps 50 members.

Mr. MARTIN. During this period, were the bombings directed primarily against American stores, or were American industries also targets?

Mr. MARTINEZ. At that time what we had in Puerto Rico was mostly destruction by incendiary devices against stores, but we also had destruction against industry, particularly against petrochemical pipelines.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you be able to offer for the record a list of the bombings against American stores and business establishments during this period?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I can offer a partial listing. I will just name some of the stores involved.

The first major bombing was in 1964 at a Bargaintown Store in Bayamon. It is close to San Juan. During that fire in 1964 an employee died and the losses were estimated at about \$1 million.

The big rush of terrorists attacks took place in 1968. In that year they bombed, among other targets, Drug Fair, Blackton's, Chez Bamboo, Ruby Gale, a gasoline pipeline company, the New York Department Store, Grand Union, Franklin's, again the New York Department Store, Pueblo Supermarkets, several hotels in the Condado area, the International Department Store, some movie houses, the Belk-Lindsay Department Store in Bayamon, the Kresge's Store in Bayamon, the Bargaintown Store in Carolina, the K-Mart Store in San Juan.

Then, in 1969, Woolworth's Store in Santurce, Lerner's, Franklin's, Kresge's, Woolworth and a Sears store in Ponce. Another Kresge store—

Mr. MARTIN. Did many of the bombings do extensive damage?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Some of them destroyed the stores completely. For example, the fire at Woolworth's in September 1969 caused \$1,400,000 damage.

Mr. SHORT. Were there any deaths other than the first one you mentioned at the Bargaintown Store?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, not any that I can remember, because what they did was they placed small incendiary devices that would burn the store at night.

And continuing, in 1970, we had one of the first instances of violence and bombings in a strike. In January of that year—January 12, to be exact—a bomb was placed at the General Electric factory in Rio Grande during a strike. That same year, the Moscoso Drug Stores, two of them, were burned on the same day with losses of a quarter of a million dollars.

Then, on March 5, as a reprisal for the death of the students at the University, the Armed Commandos for Liberation killed two sailors, two American sailors, in San Juan. This was not exactly the type of terrorist act that I was talking about, but still it was a terrorist act.

In April of that year, several bombs were found with a blasting at the main communications tower of the police department at El Yunque. Forty-eight bombs were found that day.

In May of that year, at the Burger King Store in Rio Piedras, a bomb was placed and a student was seriously injured by the explosion.

And I could go on with a long list up until 1972, which is the last date I have of this listing of terrorist acts, but one of the major acts was a bomb placed during the Miss Universe Contest in Puerto Rico and that was in May 1972. While the Miss Universe Contest was taking place in Puerto Rico, a very powerful explosive bomb was placed at the hotel, apparently to give a publicity effect to their struggle.

Mr. MARTIN. Now, this is only a partial listing of bombings and other terrorist incidents?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. The bombings have continued since 1972. The only list I have ended at that time. But, for example, in November 1974, last November, we had 17 bombs exploding at several—

Mr. MARTIN. In 1 month?

Mr. MARTINEZ. One day.

Mr. MARTIN. In 1 day.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Seventeen very—we are talking now about explosive bombs—17 very powerful explosive bombs were placed at different American banks and stores and industry as a reprisal for the mobilization of the Puerto Rican National Guard, Army National Guard, during a strike.

Mr. MARTIN. Would it be an overestimate to say that there have been 100 or more bombings a year during this period, or would that be on the high side?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I would say that in 1968, which was a very bad year, we had more than 100. Then we had more or less the same, perhaps less, up until 1971. Then we had what I would say a cool period until 1973 or 1974. Since then, the number of bombs has been much lower. But the effectiveness has been much bigger, because they are using very powerful explosives.

Mr. MARTIN. What you are saying, in effect, is that, as we have been developing our détente with the Soviet Union, a lot of bombs—and more powerful bombs—have been going off in Puerto Rico?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I am not certain about the frequency of the bombings, but the situation has continued, only that they have changed their tactics. Instead of attacking commercial establishments, just for publicity's sake, now they are attacking specific installations and mostly during strikes, and that is a coincidence, just a coincidence, but a very strange coincidence. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party—

Mr. MARTIN. Does the Puerto Rican Socialist Party claim responsibility for these bombings?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, I was going to say, it is a coincidence that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party changed its emphasis from general attacks to publicity attacks or propaganda attacks against Americans in Puerto Rico. They changed into direct participation in strikes, and the bombings followed the same pattern. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party and its predecessor, the Pro-Independence Movement, have never claimed direct responsibility for bombings, but they have backed most of the bombings by even saying that they are useful for the Puerto Rican struggle.

Just to give you an example, I am going to quote from Juan Mari Bras, a statement he made, and I am going to give you the date of the statement. He made this statement in May 1971, and he went on to say: "We understand that armed struggle has been a very important factor in the massive development of the proindependence forces."

As the acts of sabotage by the Armed Commandos for Liberation increased, there has been a similar increase in the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Pro-Independence Movement and in the proindependence forces. I don't think that the Armed Commandos for Liberation believe that with their actions alone they are going to bring independence. If they believe so, it would be a mistake on their part.

In the last press release published in Claridad, we can get just the opposite picture. They say that to achieve Puerto Rico's liberation, in addition to the terrorist actions, many things are going to be needed, perhaps an electoral party getting thousands of votes or a known electoral movement, very militant, or both things, but that all this will not be enough for independence, and that there will be no liberty without the liberating army. The Armed Commandos for Liberation, according to Mari Bras, would take care of developing that army. And Mari Bras says:

The Pro-Independence Movement has morally backed the Armed Commandos for Liberation because we consider them a very important ingredient in the development of the mass struggle.

I could offer many other quotations made by important Puerto Rican Socialist Party members that would shed more light on this. For example, Angel Agosto is the secretary, or he was until recently a Secretary of Labor Affairs of the party. He stated once:

The Armed Commandos for Liberation are perhaps the most substantial and effective armed pro-independence organization in Puerto Rico. Their actions are framed within the conception of an armed struggle as the blasting cap and a supplement for legal, open struggle.

Mr. MARTIN. In using the expression "Armed Commandos for Liberation," is this the name of an organization?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, it is. It is the name of a terrorist organization that claims responsibility for most of the bombings in Puerto Rico in the last decade.

Mr. SHORT. As a point of clarification there, you mentioned explosives, and then you said incendiary. Do you feel—is it your personal opinion—that the incendiary bombs were used for publicity purposes and the high explosives were used to maim, destroy or kill?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, probably what they had was an increasing sophistication. I believe it was much easier to prepare a chemical bomb than to produce or to have an explosive bomb. In Puerto Rico, although this is not a field of my competence, it is public knowledge that there have been several thefts of explosives and since that happened, they changed into explosives.

Mr. SNOW. The Armed Commandos for Liberation you are referring to now, primarily?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, although the last bombings in Puerto Rico have been on animals and no one has claimed responsibility for them.

Mr. MARTIN. Not even the Armed Commandos?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any evidence of direct ties between the Armed Commandos for Liberation and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, other than the statement from PSP leaders which you have read approving the actions of the Armed Commandos? Have any Socialist Party members been arrested, for example, in connection with the bombings?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, I don't have any hard evidence in that direction, and I don't believe that there have been any arrests--arrests and convictions, I mean, of any Socialist Party member in connection with these bombings. Several party members were arrested once, but they were acquitted. The thing is, and this is now my personal opinion, there is some sort of a relationship between both organizations. It is safe to say--it is very safe to say this. Like I just quoted, the party feels that they need a supplement to detonate the mass struggle, and this supplement is the armed struggle. The reason behind this is that they don't have enough force to win elections, but the destructive power they can get by means of terrorism would strengthen their position.

There is some sort of a bilateral relationship, because, for example, Claridad, the Socialist Party's newspaper, has always been some sort of a press agent for the Armed Commandos for Liberation by publishing every communicate or press release that they have issued.

Some people--I am not personally in a position to make this as a categorical statement--but some people go beyond that and believe that the members of the Armed Commandos for Liberation are merely secret members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party structure, operating at a second level.

Does that answer your question, sir, about terrorism?

Mr. MARTIN. For the time being, I may have some further questions to address to you as your evidence proceeds.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you carry on with your prepared statement?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Now, leaving the field of terrorism, which is not exactly the field of my competence, the next thing would be how the party organized itself in every town. To be effective, the party needed a broad geographic base. A party group or cell had to be created in every town and city and in the rural communities of the island. But the Communists were not strong enough to exploit the local people everywhere and did not have the power for big national campaigns. To help them in the creation of the party structure, they used Lenin's favorite tool, the party newspaper. Lenin once said:

A newspaper is what we most of all need. The role of the newspaper is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer.

With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organization will naturally take shape. The more technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing their detailed function and test their strength in the organization of various revolutionary actions.

This was a direct quotation from Lenin in his book, "What Is To Be Done." In Puerto Rico, the island-wide Communist front was called, like I said, Movimiento Pro-Independencia, or Pro-Independence Movement. When it first published its newspaper, Claridad, in 1959, the movement only had 30 cells, most of them located in the big cities. At that time, Claridad was a mimeographed newsletter.

By 1968, the party had at least one cell in practically every town and Claridad was a four-page weekly tabloid.

Three years later, Claridad had become a 24-page weekly newspaper, as a result of the increasing circulation and news sources provided by the growing party ranks.

In 1972, it began to be published twice weekly, and in November 1974, it was turned into a daily newspaper with international news, sports and other very attractive features.

Mr. MARTIN. What is its circulation?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I don't know exactly, but it amounts to more than 10,000 daily. Probably twice that figure.

A bilingual edition is now published weekly for Puerto Ricans who live in the Continental United States. This shows how a newspaper can help a Communist party improve its internal organization and propaganda tools.

The next stage in the Communist offensive in Puerto Rico was in placing members in the key positions. I would not say that these developments took place in distinct stages. They were perhaps simultaneous. But in a way--

Mr. MARTIN. You are talking of chronological stages?

Mr. MARTINEZ. They were not chronological stages, because some of these actions occurred at the same time, but in a way one depended on the other. Like, for example, they had to create a party throughout the island. The newspaper and the distribution of the newspaper was the tool they used for this.

Now, the next stage was placing members in key positions, which is something they tried to do from the very beginning of the party.

A Communist party is a professional revolutionary group. It organizes a hard core of militants with a strict discipline, and a cellular organization. The party does not want to bring the masses into its ranks.

However, it claims to be a party of the working class, and to validate this claim it needs a large degree of control over the workers that cannot be attained by agitation and propaganda alone. They achieve this control with a variety of techniques. One of them is the infiltration of party members into legitimate organizations to gain control of these groups for subversive purposes and to obtain information.

Another technique is creation by the party of front organizations. A front is a group totally controlled by the party members who hold leadership positions, but composed of a wide spectrum of non-Communists who, for one reason or another, helped the party achieve its long-range goals through the front's public goals.

Before a Communist party can launch its final offensive, it needs this type of contact with the masses. In Puerto Rico, the Pro-Independence Movement devoted considerable efforts to the infiltration of its members in the most important labor unions and in several cultural, collegiate, and political groups. As I said before, this is very easy for a party that is doing most of its recruitment at the universities. The party has four years to train a member while he is a student. When the member graduates from college he is ready to assume a position from which he can help the party.

The regulations of the Pro-Independence Movement make it mandatory for all members to use their positions in the community for the benefit of the party and to follow orders from the party leadership regarding participation in any organization. The—

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any documentation to support this statement?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I have with me a copy of the regulations of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which was the party they formed from the Pro-Independence Movement in 1971.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you be willing to offer these regulations for the record?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. It is only a copy of a page of the regulations, but the specific part I am talking about right now is contained in this page.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information referred to follows:]

### (3) MEMBERSHIP

*Article 4.*—The members of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico are classified as affiliates and militants.

*Article 5.*—Militants are considered those who abide by the following rules:

(a) Support the general declaration and the political thesis and other documents of the program of the PSP and abide by the dispositions of these regulations.

(b) Perform, according to their condition and according to their capacity in harmony with the steering organs of the party, the activities and tasks which the struggle for independence and socialism demand.

(c) To subordinate to party discipline and to the interests of the working class, their affiliation and activities in any organization, be it labor union, student, cultural, civic, philosophical, or any other type. Their participation in any profession or business is also subordinate in the same manner.

CH—To be older than 16 years of age, except in certain situations which are determined by the Central Committee, and to have served a period no less than six months as an affiliate;

(d) To participate actively and contribute actually in the corresponding member organizations;

(e) To work actively in the syndicate labor or student organization corresponding to their office, profession or student level;

(f) To participate in all the meetings of the party when ordered;

(g) To spread the socialist doctrine, the political thesis and to fulfill the tasks ordered by the organizations of the Party;

(h) To be discreet in an absolute way regarding internal matters of the Party, agreements and resolutions approved, when this is demanded by the organization;

(i) To be loyal to all members of the party and to practice solidarity and fraternal unity with the members of patriotic and or revolutionary organizations

of Puerto Rico and with the members of the foreign parties and revolutionary movements;

(j) To maintain a personal conduct in accordance with the best interests of the Puerto Rican revolution and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Since it is in Spanish, I could translate it. It is just very short. I am referring to article 3.

"Members" is the title of the article—excuse me. It is section 3, and now article 5.

Article 5, part (c), says:

That militants of the Party will have to subordinate to party discipline and to the interests of the working class, their affiliation and activities in any organization, be it labor union, student, cultural, civic, philosophical, or any other type. Their participation in any profession or business is also subordinate in the same manner.

This is the article I was referring to when I said the regulations of the Pro-Independence Movement and the Socialist Party made mandatory for all members to use their positions in the community for the benefit of the party and to follow its leaders and to submit to the discipline of the party their participation in any organization.

Mr. MARTIN. Thank you for the documentation. Would you proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. You are welcome, sir.

The Pro-Independence Movement also created what is called the second level or secret party structure, whose members kept secret their party affiliation and obtained sensitive positions in government, in industry and other critical segments of society.

Now we are getting to the point where the party had the organization completed, the consolidation was done, and the Pro-Independence Movement, which had not proclaimed itself Communist, was slated to become publicly what it always was—a Communist organization.

I call this stage unmasking the organization and proclaiming its Communist goals.

Once the Communist front organization has consolidated its structure and has placed its members in key positions, it starts a process in which the Communist goals are proclaimed and the rallying issue of the first period becomes a secondary objective. This happened in Puerto Rico in 1971 when the Pro-Independence Movement changed its name to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño and announced it was in the process of transformation into a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

A series of party documents openly admitted that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was a Communist organization.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you have some of these documents that you are in a position to offer for the record?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Sir, I can offer some photocopies of these documents. Some I don't have here, but I have the most significant statements as part of my prepared statement.

Mr. MARTIN. That would be adequate for the record. Do you have them with you?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. And can they be offered now?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well—

Mr. MARTIN. Or would you prefer to submit them for the record subsequently?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I have them available, but I would prefer to submit them later and continue with my testimony.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, may these documents be accepted for the record when the witness provides them unless the Chair later rules otherwise?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you.

Now, I would like to present a more detailed, ideological study of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party which, as we have seen, is the most important Communist organization in Puerto Rico.

January 11, 1975, marked the 16th anniversary of the Pro-Independence Movement, MPI. While in 1959 it was only a handful of dissident proindependence fighters, it was transformed 3 years ago into a socialist revolutionary party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and now proclaims openly its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its backing of armed struggle and its close ties with Fidel Castro and his regime. If I may summarize the process of the last 16 years, these are the essential points in my opinion.

Puerto Rico has witnessed the birth and consolidation of a classic Communist Party. Until recently it was necessary to read between the lines to find evidence to substantiate this statement. For that reason many people refused to believe the allegation that the MPI was a Communist front.

During the last few months, however, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has chosen to speak clearly and today we have unquestionable evidence on this subject.

Consider, for example, the following quotation from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party 1974 political thesis. This section I am going to quote right now is called "Programmatic Bases of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party." It states:

The General Declaration adopted at the Founding Assembly of our Party proclaims four basic rights that shape up the program of the Party of the Working Class.

First, the inalienable right of our homeland, Puerto Rico, to independence. Second, the rights, also inalienable, of the Puerto Rican people to the complete rescue of all property that has been alienated by persons, corporations, governments or any foreign forces.

The right of the Puerto Rican workers to the progressive socialization of all means of production, regardless of who owns them now, foreigners or nationals, and to the construction of a socialist society where there will be finally no more oppressed nor oppressors.

Four, the right of the workers and of the rest of the patriots to use all available forms of struggle, including revolutionary violence, to oppose the repressive violence of the system and to validate the other fundamental rights already mentioned.

The first of these four basic rights, the right to national independence, is considered by us as inalienable, that is, that it cannot be renounced. To our Party, for that reason, the political status of Puerto Rico is not negotiable by means of elections, plebiscites or referendums, nor through agreements of any kind that may devalue, restrict or qualify the full exercise of sovereignty and independence by our people.

The second of the aforementioned rights, which we also consider inalienable, represents our objective of National Liberation. We affirm that all property operated by foreigners in Puerto Rico has been obtained by the imposition of the colonial regime. We will not recognize, consequently, any property rights acquired

under those circumstances, and by means of our struggle we will rescue for our people all of our national resources—the land, the subsoil, the sea, the air, the vegetation, the animals and everything that the Puerto Rican men and women have created with their toil in all aspects of our life.

Now, I am going to quote—

Mr. MARTIN. This is the end of this quotation?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, sir. I am going to quote now the most significant part of it. I just wanted to emphasize it.

The third of these rights proclaims our socialist ideology. It outlines our final goal, which is the construction of a socialist society, where there will finally be no oppressed nor oppressors. In other words, the socialist society which we envision will culminate in the Communist society, which is the only one that can guarantee that there will be no more oppressed nor oppressors.

Just one paragraph later, in the same document, it says:

The Communist society, which is our final goal, is that which is based on the principle "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs."

The next quotation I have in this same document states as follows:

To reach Communism, we first have to build and consolidate socialism. The Socialist society is that which, by destroying in its roots the power of the capitalists and imposing the class dictatorship of the proletariat, prepares the material base for the full development of productive forces and the final leap to Communism.

The revolutionary change from one system to the other cannot be achieved by decree nor abruptly, but by means of a process. The revolutionary power produces the qualitative change that provides the impulse for that process. The application of a correct transition program that will consolidate the power of the working class and set the solid basis for the construction of socialism is required.

This is contained in the political thesis of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, pages 110 and 111.

Mr. MARTIN. Does this document exist in both English and Spanish, or is this a translation from the Spanish that you have just given us?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I have given my own translation, as is the case with all translations I am offering here.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you be able to provide for the record a photostatic copy of the original?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. Not at this time, but later I will be able to supply it.

Mr. MARTIN. In reviewing your remarks, you will be able to provide this for the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be provided for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion held off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. If this document leaves very little room for doubts of the Communist nature of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the following statement by Juan Mari Bras should be more than enough to dispel any remaining doubts.

If the other Pro-Independence Party wants unity with us, we will think about it, but only on some bases of principle on which we are not willing to compromise. These are the following: Whoever seeks unity with us must not be anti-Communist



or oppose armed struggle. That does not mean that our allies have to be Communists or advocates of armed struggle, but they must not be against any of these two things. And, logically, whoever seeks unity with us will be fully aware of the fact that he is dealing with Communists and revolutionaries.

This was published in Claridad on January 2, 1975.

Another statement by Juan Mari Bras says:

We are Communists because the objective of all the socialists around the world is the eventual transformation of the Socialist society into a Communist society. Communism is a phase in the social development in which scarcity and the class struggles will have been transcended. That objective has not been achieved anywhere in the world, not even in countries that have been building socialism for many years.

But, in the specific context of our national reality, we decided to call our party Socialist Party because it defines with sufficient precision our strategic objective for the foreseeable future.

This was contained in Claridad on May 5, 1975.

As I was mentioning, the available evidence makes undeniable the fact that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is a classic Communist party.

The next question is, what is the real relevance of this fact? As a Communist party, several fundamental traits distinguish the Puerto Rican Socialist Party from any other pro-independence party.

First, we are not talking about a group of intellectuals or dreamers whose only aspiration is some form of utopic independence. By adopting the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party have adopted some very concrete aspirations for the transformation of society.

Second, we are not talking either about a group of anarchist terrorists whose activity responds to impulse. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party is an organization with a very disciplined structure and whose tactics—inspired by Leninism—have been designed like a delicate and complex piece of machinery aimed at the specific and methodic achievement of their goals. This multiplies the individual efforts of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party members, making possible a combined power much bigger than would be expected of an organization of its size.

Just to illustrate this point, let me refer to one of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's areas of activity—the labor movement.

In February 1971, the Pro-Independence Movement decided to intensify drastically its actions in the labor movement. According to a plan that was drafted at that time, the MPI—the Pro-Independence Movement—has promoted the following actions:

First, the popularization and radicalization of strikes, to the point that within the past 2 years the Governor of Puerto Rico has been forced to mobilize the Army National Guard twice to protect government installations affected by strikes against very destructive acts of sabotage.

Second, the placing of Puerto Rican Socialist members in key positions within the labor movement. In about 1970, Juan Mari Bras said:

We are not going to work in the creation of labor unions. That requires devotion of great efforts to sterile bureaucratic work. Our role as a vanguard dictates that we go directly to the objective of politicizing and permeating the existing labor unions, all of them, with the presence and influence of our cadre, militants and affiliates. They must be clear as to their essential task, which is not to dilute themselves into the bureaucracy of the guilds, but to increase the combativity of the union's members and even to force the union to become an accelerating agent instead of a brake of the class struggle.

Just a few days ago, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party published a document on the role of the socialist labor leader. This document states on page 39:

The Socialist labor leader becomes a leader through a process of winning the confidence and the backing of all the workers. For that reason, he is a representative of workers who have a clear class consciousness and of workers with very little class consciousness. But, above all, he is a Communist leader. These two characteristics force him to act with great flexibility. He is a leader with a socialist preparation and with a trade-union preparation. He is, at the same time, a political leader and a labor leader. He is a leader that works on two complementary fields of the labor struggle. His socialist preparation strengthens his labor union activities, and his trade-unionist preparation strengthens his partisan work.

We stated that the Socialist labor leader is a Communist. Our Party regulations require that all militants and affiliates work actively in the labor union, guild or student association that corresponds to his job, profession or student level. As a result, for every socialist, it is a duty and a political responsibility to become a leader according to his capability.

The principal task of a Socialist labor leader is to organize the workers' party in his field of work, without detracting from the responsibilities of the position to which he was elected and designated by the mass of the workers.

Only the organization of the Party within the labor union will insure the decisive influence of the revolutionary movement within the labor movement.

That is the end of the quotation.

The regulations of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party are more revealing than the previous quotation.

Mr. MARTIN. Where did that quotation appear?

Mr. MARTINEZ. It is published in Nueva Lucha. Nueva Lucha is a Party magazine. It means "New Struggle" in English.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you have the date of that quotation?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I actually have the original.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, may the original of the article in question, or a photostat of the original be accepted for the record at this point?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Article 5, paragraph c of the Regulations of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party states:

It is a duty of all militants to . . . subordinate to the discipline of the Party and the interests of the working class, their affiliation and activities in any labor union, guild, student group, cultural organization, etcetera.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been extremely successful in placing its members in the top leadership positions of many labor unions. Pedro Grant, coordinator of the United Labor Movement, is a member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Luis Nazario Baez, former vice president of the very powerful Union of Electrical Workers, is also a member of the Central Committee. The National Workers Union, which includes workers of about 20 factories, is beyond any doubt a mere appendix of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The third of the Party's activities is the creation of workers' cells in the different manufacturing companies, business enterprises and public utilities.

The fourth activity is the unification of the labor movement in a central movement (Central Unica de Trabajadores) capable of bringing to its knees the Puerto Rican economy with general strikes and other means of pressure. The United Labor Movement, directed by members

of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's Central Committee, like Pedro Grant and Osvaldo Romero, is trying to achieve this goal.

Any well informed and alert individual in Puerto Rico is aware of the fact that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has made significant progress in this area and is greatly responsible for the bad labor relations that have plagued Puerto Rico during the past few years.

The third of the traits that distinguish the Puerto Rican Socialist Party from our other independence parties is that it is not by any means an isolated group. Besides having a growing branch in the United States, about which I talked already, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has very close relations with the Communist Parties of the world. The Party's relations with Cuba are so close that it has a permanent delegation and offices in Havana.

This is perhaps the most significant aspect of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. In fact, there is enough evidence on hand to make me believe that this organization is operating as a branch of the counter-intelligence and espionage apparatus.

Can we go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has a very important continental branch, or mainland branch, which is the Party structure within the United States. In what we may call the "mainland front," the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is involved in the organization of Puerto Ricans for revolutionary action within the United States. By organizing all sorts of activities in the mainland, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party wants to achieve several goals. One of them is the organization of the great Puerto Rican community in the mainland in support of Puerto Rico's independence. They feel that effective actions at the heart of the American society will force the United States to grant independence to Puerto Rico.

Another goal is the consolidation of the American left. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party organized a meeting of American radicals in support of Puerto Rico's independence. That took place in October 1974. Among the guests were Angela Davis, Jane Fonda, Cuban United Nations Ambassador Ricardo Alarcón, Pedro Albizu Meneses, Phillip Reer of the American Indian Movement, and Irwin Silber.

Hundreds of American radicals attended the rally at the Madison Square Garden. The day before the rally, bomb blasts hit several New York City banks.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been directly or indirectly involved in many violent actions, such as the 1974 Newark riots.

Mr. MARTIN. In the case of these bank bombings in New York, did the Puerto Rican Socialist Party or any Puerto Rican radical movement claim credit for them?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I believe it was the first time that the Armed Forces for Puerto Rican Liberation used that name. FALN, Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional.

Mr. MARTIN. And what was the reaction of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party sympathizers in the United States to these bombings? Did they criticize them as irresponsible actions which might compromise the revolution?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No, I don't think so, not at that time. I think they just gave publicity to the fact that there had been some bombings by the FALN. I don't think the party assumed any position against the bombings.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you continue?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you.

Like I said, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been involved in many violent actions, such as in the 1974 Newark riots.

It has threatened, and this is very important, to disrupt the Bicentennial celebrations if, by 1976, Puerto Rico is not independent. Juan Mari Bras has said:

The slogan of the Bicentennial without Colonies means that we are going to turn upside down the Bicentennial celebrations if, by that time, the United States has not ended its colonial regime in Puerto Rico. Thousands of Puerto Ricans, blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians and other racial minorities will invade the city of Philadelphia on July 4, 1976.

The Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's United States branch adopted in 1973 a very important document called Desde las Entrañas, or From the Entrails, in which it outlines the strategy for the mainland front. This document has received great publicity in many forms. It states:

The PSP was organized to direct the struggle for our people's national liberation and to take power. In the United States, its most important function is to unleash fully that National Liberation Struggle at the heart of those American cities where a significant portion of our population lives, and to unite them to the general struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the United States.

Mr. MARTIN. What is the source for that statement?

Mr. MARTINEZ. This statement is contained in Desde las Entrañas. It means From the Entrails, and it is the official political thesis of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

I wanted to add something about this particular quotation. It uses the term "National Liberation" and this term might be understood by different persons to mean different things. I firmly believe that it is used in the standard Communist context, with its standard Communist meaning, and the "war of national liberation" is a term that the Communists have used specifically to refer to armed struggle against an imperialistic country. The term was first used probably in Algeria during the war against France. So my personal estimate is that they are talking about a war for national liberation of Puerto Rico within the continental United States, which, of course, must include acts of sabotage. That is my personal estimate.

Mr. MARTIN. So the war of national liberation they are talking about is identical with the concept of wars of national liberation as this concept has been discussed and elaborated upon at repeated conferences of the world Communist movement?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I believe that is exactly what they mean by war of national liberation.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Carry on now. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Another quotation, this time from a supplement in Claridad published in November 1974, states as follows:



We are at the very center of the continental revolution. Every revolutionary process in the Third World and particularly in Latin America, deepens the contradictions in the heart of the American society. At the same time, the deeper the struggles in the heart of this society, the bigger will be the possibilities of victory for the Third World.

In the same article, as a caption to a photo of a bomb blast in New York City, it stated:

Puerto Rico must be the spearhead to bring the antiimperialistic war to the very heart of the American society.

May we go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTIN. What is the source of this quotation, the one you just read?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I just mentioned before the source of this quotation and of the caption that says that Puerto Rico must be the spearhead to bring the antiimperialistic struggle to the very heart of American society, which is a supplement called *Desde las Entranas*, just like the political thesis of the Party in the States. It was published in *Claridad* in late November 1974.

In addition to this branch within the United States which constitutes a means of attacking the United States from within, which no other party has ever had before, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has very close relations with all the Communist parties of the world. The party's relations with Cuba are so close that it has a permanent delegation and offices in Havana. This is perhaps the most significant aspect of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. Does it maintain this permanent office and delegation openly? Is it a matter of public knowledge?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. There is enough evidence on hand to make me believe that this organization is operating as a branch of the Cuban intelligence and espionage apparatus.

Mr. MARTIN. Apart from the evidence of the very close ties between the leadership of the PSP and the Cuban Communist government, is there any evidence of a relationship between the leaders of the PSP and the principal figures in the Cuban DGI or the Soviet KGB?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, I intend to present in the next few minutes a detailed chronology of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's relations with Communist parties and countries. As I go through these pages, I intend to submit for the record several documents. In one of these documents there is a clear picture that depicts the leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party meeting with the leaders or directors of the DGI. So, if you would please let me go through the next pages—

Mr. MARTIN. Right. Present your testimony in the order in which you have organized it.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

At this point, like I said, I want to present a chronology of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party's foreign relations and, simultaneously, I will submit for the record several exhibits that illustrate these relations.

In January 1966, in Havana, Cuba, there was a meeting called the First Tricontinental Conference. At that time, representatives of all the Communist movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America met in Havana with the purpose of creating an organization that would coordinate the world struggle against the United States and the parallel struggle to spread Communism.

Mr. MARTIN. Did the Tricontinental Congress not also contain representatives of other organizations than Communist organizations—third world organizations, militant radical organizations, that weren't Communist?

Mr. MARTINEZ. My understanding, sir, is that most of the organizations present were hard-core Communist organizations. The rest I would classify as Communist front organizations. At that time, Cuba was a well-known Communist country and most of the meetings taking place in Cuba were Communist meetings, and besides the evidence that has been collected as far as I know regarding that particular conference showed that it was a Communist conference. That is my personal opinion.

Mr. MARTIN. There is no question, I think, that it was Communist dominated. May we go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTIN. However, you may be familiar with a study of the Tricontinental Congress, which was prepared by our subcommittee shortly after it took place. The several analysts who worked on the preparation of this study of the Tricontinental Congress in their analysis found that some of the organizations—the organizations, for example, of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement—were not necessarily Communist but basically radical third world organizations, and that part of the purpose of the Tricontinental Congress was to bring these organizations into an international movement which was firmly in the control of the Communists so that they could more effectively manipulate them and control them for Communist purposes.

Would you be prepared to go along with this, or do you feel that there is evidence—have you come across evidence since then that suggests to you that all of the participating organizations may at that time have been solidly under Communist control?

Senator THURMOND. Off the record for a moment.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, sir, I am well aware of that. Actually, one of my sources has been the subcommittee's own report. When I talk about a Communist conference, I am using the word "communism" or "Communist" referring to the Communist movement. I understand that the Communist movement is not only composed of hardcore Communists, but of a wide variety of sympathizers, fellow-travelers, pseudointellectuals and all kinds of people that help the Communists, with some degree of knowledge of the fact that it is a Communist organization. I believe that everyone who went to Havana was well aware of the fact that the leaders of the conference were Communists and they were serving the purposes of the Communists, regardless of their personal motivations.

Mr. MARTIN. You may have heard that Lenin, in speaking about fellow-travelers, stressed the importance of being able to utilize and exploit—these are Lenin's words—"these useful idiots." You would classify the "useful idiots" as an actual part of the Communist movement, broadly speaking?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, they are more or less a transmission belt with the masses and they are not actually a part of the motor of the whole thing, but as long as they move with the whole machinery, they are part of it.

Mr. MARTIN. I think we have an understanding. Will you proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you. At that meeting in Havana, the organizations that were founded were the Organization of Latin American Solidarity and Organization of Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Pro-Independence Movement sent delegates to the Tricontinental Conference, headed by Normal Pietri Castellon and integrated also by Dr. Ana Livia Cordero de Mayfield, and Jose Luis Gonzalez, among others, and Narciso Rabell Martinez. Mr. Martinez on the 10th of February of that year, 1966, had been recognized by the Cuban Government as ambassador of Puerto Rico, and he became a member on the 31st of May of that year of the Permanent Secretariat of the Organization for Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In representation of that organization, he participated in visits to African countries during 1967.

Now, I am quoting from the Senate Report regarding the Conference.

In August of 1967, in Havana, Cuba, the first conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization took place. To that activity, a delegation of the Pro-Independence Movement, headed by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Movement, was sent.

Mari Bras pronounced a speech at the full session of the Conference, and I am going to quote several portions of this message that I consider particularly significant.

Now, I am quoting from Mari Bras' statement:

We represent the people of Puerto Rico. Our people reaffirms by these means its total solidarity with the Cuban revolution. Our country is an integral part of the Latin America, exploited and starved, which is today regrouping its forces to fight the final battle for its liberation. As part of Latin America, we proclaim our solidarity with all the struggles which, in different stages of development, are taking place in our countries. We believe that, as the struggles continue growing and intensifying in each country, we will have a bigger obligation to refine and complete that solidarity. For that reason we propose that in this conference precise plans should be made for solidarity with the heroic fighters who in Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia and other countries have initiated guerrilla warfare as the first line of confrontation with imperialism. We, the independence fighters in Puerto Rico, are willing to offer that concrete solidarity in any way it is requested to us.

This statement becomes very significant in the light of the recent arrest of three party members in the Dominican Republic who are now accused of transporting several guerrilla fighters into that country. My personal opinion is that back in 1966 in Cuba, Mari Bras said that he was willing to cooperate in any way necessary with the guerrilla movements in the hemisphere. And I believe that can be safely concluded from his statements.

Mari Bras also said the following in the statement I have been quoting.

We believe, however, that the most effective solidarity we can offer to all of the Latin American revolutionaries consists of developing in our own homeland, facing up to the greatest adversities, surmounting all obstacles, and fighting to the final conclusion our own struggle for independence. Based on this line of action of the new struggle for independence, we have come to this conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization to contribute as much as we can to articulate the needed common strategy for the liberation of America.

So, in 1966, the Pro-Independence Movement had already pledged its support to Communist and Communist-backed actions throughout the hemisphere.

Now, I am going to present some other evidence I have collected about their participation in international conferences and meetings and as I go through these pages, I will furnish the committee photo copies of the articles in Claridad and some other sources where this information is contained.

Mr. MARTIN. As he presents this testimony, Mr. Chairman, may copies of the articles in question be accepted for inclusion in the record?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered, unless the Chair rules otherwise in some specific case.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you.

I will start this chronology in November 1970. On the 6th of November, the secretary general of the pro-independence movement, Juan Mari Bras, was in charge of the closing statement of the informal meeting of socialist parties and national liberation movements that took place in Santiago, Chile. The meeting was under the auspices of the Chilean Socialist Party due to the inauguration of the new Socialist Government in Chile. At the informal reception for the delegates to this meeting, Juan Mari Bras was in charge of the closing statement.

That same day, the Minister of Foreign Relations of the new Chilean Government, Clodomiro Almeida, met with the Puerto Rican delegation, which was made up of the president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Ruben Berrios, and the secretary general of the pro-independence movement, Juan Mari Bras; Dr. Jose Milton Soltero, of the committee for resistance against military service; and the secretaries of foreign relations of the pro-independence movement and the Puerto Rican Independence Party respectively, Carlos Padilla and Leopoldo Rivera.

I am going to furnish at this time the first exhibit which contains the photographs of the meeting and the article from which I got my information.

Mr. MARTIN. This exhibit will be incorporated in accordance with the chairman's previous order.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

Next, in January 1971, on January 22, a delegation of the Communist Party of the United States, made up of its president, Gus Hall and Pat Toohey, met with representatives of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the Puerto Rican Communist Party in San Juan. In addition to Mari Bras, the Pro-Independence Movement was represented at the meeting by Julio Vives Vasquez, Pedro Baiges Chapel, Jenaro Rentas, Manuel de J. Gonzales and Angel M. Agosto, members of the political commission.

At the end of the conference, several agreements were signed to coordinate activities of the three participating parties regarding the elimination of U.S. Navy activities in Culebra, the liberation of Angela Davis, the backing of Puerto Ricans who refused to serve in the American Army, and the development of closer relations between the participating parties. Here, I am referring to an article published in the Communist World Magazine of February 13, 1971. This article was reprinted by El Mundo, a Spanish language newspaper in Puerto Rico on May 12, 1971, and it is a summary of the agreements made at that meeting of the CPUSA, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which called for an independence movement at that time, and the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. Do I understand you correctly, that it is a summary of an agreement reached between the CPUSA, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, and the Puerto Rican Communist Party—the three of them?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. The three met in San Juan and they prepared a communique of solidarity and I am offering it for the record. It is in English.

Mr. MARTIN. Right. With the chairman's approval, this exhibit will be incorporated in accordance with the chairman's previous order. [The material referred to follows:]

[From the El Mundo, May 12, 1971]

#### MAGAZINE SAYS GUS HALL MADE HISTORY IN PUERTO RICO

##### SAN JUAN PARLEY—PARTIES ACT TO END IMPERIALISM

Puerto Rico was the scene of remarkable developments when Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, visited it last month. His week there, heading a delegation from his party, made history. Friendly and fruitful discussions were held by the representatives of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, the MPI (El Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico) and the CPUSA.

U.S. authorities and reactionary groups on the island mobilized in advance to harass Hall and Pat Toohey, the other member of the U.S. delegation, and to try to intimidate Puerto Ricans from seeing them, including the use of bombs. The presence of the delegation was headline news in all newspapers, radio, and TV every day of their stay.

The island's authorities, carrying out U.S. imperialist instructions, even went to a Federal court and applied for an injunction to bar Hall and others from going to the island of Culebra where the residents are fighting valiantly against U.S. naval destruction. Culebra is being used as a naval bombing range.

Hall was met at San Juan's Isla Verde international airport by Felix Ojeda, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, and half a dozen comrades. More than 20 reporters from all media crowded around the U.S. Communist leader, who held an impromptu press conference. EL MUNDO right-wing organ in San Juan, admitted that Hall was "very friendly and gave articulate answers" to the reporters' questions. El Mundo reported that Hall, in answering questions about Culebra, said the recent promise wrested from the U.S. Navy to restrict its activities was only a "partial gain." He declared: "We will not be satisfied until the Navy has cleared out of Culebra and out of all Puerto Rico."

On the adjacent page, we print an interview with Hall conducted by Joseph North, editor of World Magazine.

##### COMMUNIQUE OF SOLIDARITY

The conference in San Juan, January 22, between the top leaders of the MPI (El Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico), headed by its general secretary, Juan Mari Bras, the top leaders of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico headed by its general secretary Felix Ojeda, and the U.S. Communist delegation, headed by Gus Hall, issued the following statement:

In the spirit of internationalist anti-imperialism and in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality a meeting took place in the office of the National Mission of the MPI.

Present were Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the MPI; Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; Felix Ojeda, general secretary, Communist Party of Puerto Rico. Others present were Julio Vives Vazquez, Pedro Balges Chapel, Jenaro Rentas, Manuel de J. Gonzalez and Angel Agosto, members of the Political Committee of the MPI; Gertrudis Melendez de Perez, and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, and Pat Toohey, member of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The talks focused on the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and for the elimination of U.S. military, economic, and political domination and influence over Puerto Rican life. All parties agreed that Puerto Rico is subjected to a direct, classic form of colonialism by the U.S. imperialists.

The talks included a discussion about the developments in the struggle for national liberation throughout the world. The meeting took note of the new and ominous steps of escalation in Southeast Asia by the Nixon Administration. Because of this, all parties present agreed to intensify and heighten the struggle to end the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

The discussion dealt with the movements and struggles for independence in Puerto Rico, and in the U.S., with the various struggles against imperialism and war; with the struggle for black liberation, and against the special oppression of 1,500,000 Puerto Rican people now in the U.S. The talks took note of the serious nature of the present economic crisis and its severe and damaging effects upon the working people of our two nations.

The meeting developed a number of concrete forms and actions, especially around the following issues:

A. To eliminate the U.S. naval presence and its criminal bombardment of the Island of Culebra. We see this struggle as the initial stage in eliminating the presence of U.S. imperialism's forces in Puerto Rico.

B. To heighten the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis. We see this as a struggle to save the life of a beautiful human being and symbolic of the struggle against racism and all other forms of imperialist ideology. We see it symbolic of the need for unity of all victims of imperialist oppression.

C. To expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism in now proclaiming that Puerto Rico is not included in the Tlateloleco Treaty for Nuclear Free Zone in Latin America. This only shows that the criminal intentions of U.S. imperialism are to continue the economic, military, and political oppression of Puerto Rico; to continue it as a regional military staging area and to have, in Puerto Rico, nuclear weapons bases from which it can threaten the independence of all nations in our hemisphere.

D. The talks canvassed the meaning of the unprecedented mass militancy of the youth of our two nations. The meeting agreed on special steps that are needed to render assistance and mass support to the hundreds who have been arrested or indicted because of their courageous stand against the U.S. military draft.

E. The meeting took special note of the centrality of the need to promote unity and a fighting, militant, fraternal relationship between the working class and trade union organizations of our two nations. We will seek ways to put an end to the ability of U.S. corporations to use the working class of one nation against their class brothers of the other.

The conference concluded, strengthening comradeship between us in spite of the different views that each party may have about a number of things, as symbolic of the future ties and friendship that will grow and deepen between our two peoples: based on an end to U.S. imperialist oppression of Puerto Rico, as neighbors in independence, equality and mutual respect.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

In November 1971, three members of the Federation of High School Students for Independence, and the Federation of University Students for Independence, both organizations affiliated with the Puerto Rican Pro Independence Movement, participated in two activities in Cuba, representing their respective organizations. Julio Antonio Muriente and Jose Bosque represented the Federation of University Students for Independence in the second consultative

meeting of the Continental Latin American Organization of Students—That is, the Organizacion Continental Latino Americana de Estudiantes. It is a Communist students' organization based in Havana.

The Federation of University Students for Independence is a member of the secretariat of that organization since 1966. Luis Fernando Coss represented the Federation of High School Students for Independence as an observer in the Congress of the Federation of Junior High School Students in Cuba that took place from the 26th to the 29th of November. Muriente and Coss are now members of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. May we go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. In December 1971, to be exact on the 29th, Juan Mari Bras and Julio Vives Vazquez, arrived in Cuba on the first leg of a trip through three continents in which they participated under orders from the central committee of the recently created Puerto Rican Socialist Party. According to Manuel de J. Gonzalez, the cardinal purpose of this trip was to tighten relations with the parties and the friendly governments of the struggle for Puerto Rican people's independence and to get international support for their cause and for the international campaign to make the United Nations discuss Puerto Rico's colonial case. And I am furnishing at this time the next exhibit in which there are several pictures of the leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party that were in Cuba at that time.

Mr. MARTIN. This exhibit will be incorporated in accordance with the chairman's order.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Going to 1972, in January—on the 8th of January—accompanied by Alberto Perez, the permanent delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to the government and the Communist Party of Cuba, Juan Mari Bras and Vives Vazquez met with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. After the interview, the Communist leader accompanied the delegation to Jose Marti International Airport where the group departed on a flight to Chile.

The delegation stayed in Chile from the 9th to the 12th of January 1972. Because the country was in the midst of elections in two provinces, the Puerto Rican delegation could not meet with the highest leaders of the nation. It met, however, with members of the Political Commission of the Chilean Socialist Party, with the secretary general and other members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, or Movement of the Revolutionary Left—initials MIR—with a member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile, and with Julio Benitez, Minister of Housing in Allende's regime. The group also had an important meeting with Clodomiro Almeida, Minister of Foreign Relations and a group of members of his ministry to discuss in great detail the Puerto Rican case before the United Nations.

At this time, I am submitting another document. In this exhibit I am submitting right now, we have a picture of Juan Mari Bras and Alberto Perez meeting with Fidel Castro and then a complete descrip-

tion of the three-continent trip that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party members initiated in 1972. I will make reference to the same exhibit later, because it has pictures of the delegation in several other Communist countries.

Mr. MARTIN. May these be accepted for the record, in accordance with the chairman's orders?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. On the 13th of January, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party delegation departed for the People's Republic of China. It stayed in that country for 13 days, meeting with Yao Wen-yuan, member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party. According to Mari Bras—and now I am quoting:

He asked us to express to the leaders of our party and to the people of Puerto Rico in general, in the name of President Mao Tse-tung and the central committee of the party, the total, inviolable and active solidarity of the People's Republic of China with the liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people.

The picture of the meeting in China is contained in the same exhibit which I just submitted for the record.

In addition, Juan Mari Bras held a conference under the auspices of two organizations, the Association of Friendship of the Chinese People With Other Peoples, and the Association of Chinese-Latin American Friendship.

After Mari Bras had explained the Puerto Rican case in an hour and a half before several hundred Chinese, principally experts in Latin America and students of Latin American affairs, the person in charge of the Association of Friendship of the Chinese People With Foreign Peoples, Wang Kuo-chuang, made an intervention expressing the solidarity of the Chinese people with the struggle for liberation of the Puerto Rican people.

This, again, is in the same exhibit.

From China, the delegation departed for North Korea. To make the trip possible, Marshall Kim Il Sung, the Prime Minister of that Communist country, prepared and sent a special plane to Peking that picked up the Puerto Rican delegation and transported them directly to Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. In North Korea, they had conversations with Kim Il Sung and other leaders of the party during their stay of 1 week. Again, the same exhibit I just submitted for the record contains a picture of the Puerto Rican delegation with Marshall Kim Il Sung.

In February of that same year, 1972, Mari Bras and his delegation arrived in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, in the last stage of his trip. They stayed for 3 days in the Russian territory and obtained there a renewal of backing from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and an assurance of the cooperation of the Russians for the discussion of the Puerto Rican case in the United Nations.

May we go off the record?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. In March 1972, a delegation of leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Federation of University Students for Independence traveled to Cuba to participate in the Second Congress of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba. Representing the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was Nestor Nazario Trabal, member of the Central Committee, and Secretary of Student Action of the Party. Representing the Federation of University Students for Independence were Jose Sanchez Lugo, vice president, and Rosa Mari Pesquera, the daughter of Juan Mari Bras, who is a member of the executive council of that organization.

I present for the record another document which contains the information about the delegation to Cuba.

Mr. MARTIN. This will be accepted in accordance with the Chairman's previous order.

[Discussion off the record.]

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. May we go off the record.

Senator THURMOND. So ordered.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back to the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Next, in April, the Congress of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba approved a resolution on Puerto Rico which expressed the Cuban solidarity as a historical duty given by Jose Marti toward the Puerto Rican people. The same Congress approved the resolution stating that armed struggle is the main way for taking power, and alerting the youth against any so called "reformist" tendencies that might tend to develop in the continent.

I am submitting for the record another exhibit with the pictures of the two delegates and a summary of their participation in the meeting.

Mr. MARTIN. This will be incorporated in accordance with the previous order of the Chairman.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. The members of the youth delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Federation of University Students for Independence to Cuba participated in different public acts in that country. Nestor Nazario was the main speaker during an act at the Medicine School Victoria de Giron and Rosa Mari Pesquera was invited to speak in an act of solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

During the same month, a week of solidarity with the Puerto Rican political prisoners took place in Cuba. In an act promoted by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, Alberto Perez, delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party before the government and Communist Party of Cuba, gave a speech. With him were the two men presiding over the demonstration, Raul Gonzalez and Fermin Arraiza, members of the Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

I am submitting for the record this cartoon.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be incorporated in the record.

[The material referred to follows:]

CUBA Y PUERTO RICO SON DE UN PAJARO LAS DOS ALAS...



The cartoon printed by Claridad, April 10, 1972, is by Cuban cartoonist Nuez and is captioned: "Cuba and Puerto Rico are the Wings of a Bird" and says, "I have one wing free \* \* \* Soon I will have both."

Mr. MARTINEZ. In May 1972, the Secretary for International Affairs of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Pedro Baigés Chapel, and Dr. Jose Milton Soltero, who is the leader of the Committee of Resistance Against Military Service, traveled to several Latin



American countries seeking support to bring the Puerto Rican case before the United Nations. I am also submitting for the record an exhibit dealing with the matter.

Senator THURMOND. It will be incorporated.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In that same month of May, members of the Federation of University Students for Independence and other organizations from the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico participated in a march through the campus and streets of Rio Piedras in support of the Vietcong and North Vietnam. The students were carrying flags of the Vietcong, destroyed store windows at several business establishments during the activity, and met in the sector of Santa Rita, where they burned an American flag. Julio Muriente, who at that time was President of the Federation of University Students for Independence, stated, and I am quoting:

Today we made a march. We broke some windows and we burned a flag. Soon we will throw out the Yankees from Puerto Rico with some other things that won't be speeches.

On the 27th of May, at the Rio Piedras town square, an action in support of the Vietcong and North Vietnam was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The words of Ruben Berrios, President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, during that activity, were significant. So, I want to include them here—with the caveat that Ruben Berrios is not a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and is not identified as a hard-core Communist. According to Claridad, the President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Ruben Berrios, referred to Ho Chi Minh, the dead North Vietnamese leader, as one of the most important historical characters of the century and he stated that Ho Chi Minh was a thousand times more Puerto Rican than any of the colonial politicians.

Referring to the war in Vietnam, Berrios stated that the Pro-Independence and the Socialist activists are not neutral, that all are against Yankee imperialism and in favor of the Vietnamese people.

I am submitting for the record the two exhibits on the actions in favor of the Vietnamese.

Senator THURMOND. They will be incorporated in the record.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. During this act in support of the Vietnamese Communists, several messages were read. One of them came from the National Union of Vietnamese Students and the other one from the Vietcong. The message from the Vietnamese Communists was sent by the counsellor of the Embassy of the Provisional Government of South Vietnam in Cuba—the Vietcong's Embassy—and it reads as follows:

We demand the total liberty of the heroic Puerto Rican fighters that have been jailed for fighting imperialism and we demand that all accusations against the young people that have refused to act as accomplices of the criminal aggression against our people be withdrawn.

I am furnishing at this moment two more exhibits which cover the North Vietnamese messages.

Senator THURMOND. They will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Still in that same month of May, a delegation of the Federation of University Students for Independence participated in the 8th Congress of the Federation of Students of Panama, a leftist group in that country, a congress that took place from the 24th to the 27th of May. In June 1972, Rafael Anglada, delegate of the Federation of University Students for Independence, before the International Union of Students, sitting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, participated in a reception offered by the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Cuba to the Czech Government, celebrating the visit to Prague of Fidel Castro. Anglada posed together with Castro and some other leaders for a picture that was later published in Claridad. I am submitting this picture for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. May it be accepted, in accordance with the previous order of the Chair?

Senator THURMOND. Yes.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Still in June, Dr. Jose Milton Soltero left on a flight from Havana to travel through several countries of Africa. The trip was made on behalf of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to request the backing of these countries for the case of Puerto Rico before the United Nations. In Algeria, he met with high leaders of the National Liberation Front of Algeria. Then he visited Guinea, Tanzania, and Senegal.

I am submitting for the record a report on this meeting.

Senator THURMOND. It will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In July 1972, Rafael Anglada, representative of the Federation of University Students for Independence to the International Union of Students, who, at that time, lived in Prague, Czechoslovakia, a seat of the UIA, also represented his organization in two international seminars organized by the International Union of Students. From July 5 to July 11, he was in Tunis at a seminar called the "Universities at the Service of Economic, Social and Political Development of the Developing Countries." From July 15 to July 20, he participated in a seminar on the social and economic impact and political consequences of the imperialists' penetration in the developing countries. This seminar took place in Kerala, India.

Also, in July, on the 14th, Raul Gonzalez Cruz, member of the political commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and at that time, vice director of Claridad, returned from Cuba. Supposedly, his stay in Cuba was prolonged for a number of months, because he suffered an automobile accident, and fractured one leg, having to stay in the hospital for more than a month.

Upon returning to Puerto Rico, Claridad reported the following:

The Assistant Director of Claridad participated in many exchanges of experiences on revolutionary journalism with the faculty and the students of the Journalism School of the University of Havana. He also made a long tour of different provinces of Cuba and gathered information and impressions that are going to be used for a series of articles and reports on the Cuban revolution that will soon be published by Claridad.

I am submitting for the record the report on his return to Puerto Rico.

Senator THURMOND. It will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. At this time I would like to add for the record that Raul Gonzalez recently died in a car accident in Puerto Rico. Apparently, he was accident prone.

During the time that Gonzalez stayed in Cuba, he sent several reports to Puerto Rico for publication in Claridad. In March 1972, one of these articles, captioned "It Is Worthy To Fight for Socialism," stated:

If what we want for Puerto Rico is what we are watching in Cuba, and certainly that is what we are looking for, today we state it with much more confidence, it is worth the effort. Yes, it is worth the effort and the sacrifices. It is worth making whatever is necessary to destroy our corrupt society and create a new one. The society that is now being constructed successfully in Cuba is a free society where there are no oppressed, no oppressors, the socialist society. To that goal we are marching in Puerto Rico.

I am submitting the article for the record.

Senator THURMOND. Under the previous order of the Chair, it will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Just a few days after his return from Cuba, it was announced that Raul Gonzalez had been appointed by a political commission as a director of Claridad. This article, published on the 6th of August, makes me think that the trip to Cuba was made for the specific purpose of preparing him for the job of directing Claridad.

I am submitting for the record the article on his appointment as director of Claridad.

Senator THURMOND. It will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Still in July, the Voice of Vietnam broadcast from Havana reporting the following, and I am quoting:

We are very aware of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people. We have a deep admiration and understanding of the long and firm struggle that the Puerto Ricans have been carrying on over the years.

This was a North Vietnamese broadcast originating in Havana, and I am submitting this article for the record.

Senator THURMOND. It will be accepted.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In August 1972, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party presided over by Pedro Baigés Chapel and Florencio Merced Rosa of the Political Commission, together with Carmen Ortiz Baerga of the International Affairs Secretariat of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, participated as observers in the Conference of Third World Countries that took place in Georgetown, Guyana. The Conference, from the 8th to the 11th of August, accepted the delegations, granting them the right to speak in the deliberations, and it later approved the resolution requesting United Nations intervention in the Puerto Rican case.

I am submitting for the record the documents relating to this conference held in Georgetown.

Senator THURMOND. They will be accepted, in accordance with the previous order.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In September 1972, Flavia Rivera Montero, who had just substituted for Alberto Perez as delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to the Cuban Government and to the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to return to Cuba with Alberto Perez after 2 weeks of vacation in Puerto Rico. During this sojourn, they received instructions from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to develop the next phase of the international offensive planned by the Party. Alberto Perez, who lived in Cuba for 1½ years as delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, returned to Puerto Rico with his family and with the wife and son of the subdelegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to OSPAAAL, Miguel Cabrera Figueroa. In the meantime, Manuel de J. Gonzales and Cabrera Figueroa stayed in Havana, participating in the campaign of solidarity of the Cuban people with the independence of Puerto Rico.

I am submitting the article for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. It will be accepted, in accordance with the previous order of the Chair.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In October 1972, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party traveled to Chile to participate in a meeting of the presiding board of the World Peace Council, an international Communist-dominated organization, with central offices in Moscow. The delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party included Pedro Baigés Chapel, secretary for international affairs of the party, and Miguel Cabrera Figueroa, subdelegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to OSPAAAL. During the meeting of the World Peace Council, a resolution in favor of Puerto Rico's independence was approved and a trip by two party leaders through the Socialist countries of Europe, to take place in 1973, was approved.

I am submitting for the record the article related to that.

Mr. MARTIN. May it be received?

Senator THURMOND. So ordered.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Bishop Antulio Parrilla Bonilla, a Catholic bishop, and the leader of the Young Christian Workers, Francisco Garcia, represented Puerto Rico together with some 300 delegates from 19 nations in a Congress that met in Quebec, Canada, from the 6th to the 9th of October in support for the liberation war of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The Congress was sponsored by an organization called Christians for Peace in Indochina. In the report published in Claridad, there is a picture of Bishop Parrilla together with Vo Thanh Trinh of the Hun Gac Parish of North Vietnam. I should state at this time that Bishop Parrilla has never identified himself as a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. However, he has a weekly column in Claridad and has been cooperating with the party since a long time ago.



From October 15 to October 18, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party participated in a meeting of the executive committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth that took place in the Soviet Union. During the meeting an event in solidarity with the struggle of Puerto Rico was approved to denounce Puerto Rico's colonial situation and to request the liberation of political prisoners in Puerto Rico. The meeting was attended by Nestor Nazario, secretary of student affairs of the party, and Rafael Anglada, a delegate of the Federation of University Students for Independence before the Permanent Secretariat of the International Union of Students based in Czechoslovakia. On October 23, a campaign called "Vietnam Will Win" was sponsored in Puerto Rico to collect funds for the construction of the Nguyen Van Troi Pediatric Hospital in Hanoi, North Vietnam. The fund drive was promoted by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Federation of University Students for Independence, and some other organizations. The funds that were collected were earmarked to join those of an international campaign for the hospital, directed by Communist organizations of other countries.

On that very same day, in Chile, a Congress called 'Today's Women in Latin America, started. It was promoted by the International Federation of Democratic Women, and the objective of the Congress was to analyze the problems of Latin American women and study ways for the more effective integration of women through a revolutionary process in Latin America.

I am going to submit for the record the documents regarding these meetings.

Senator THURMOND. The documents will be made part of the record, in accordance with the previous order of the Chair.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. In this international meeting of women, delegations from several Latin American countries participated together with guest delegations from North Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, and several Socialist European countries. Representing the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was Flavia Rivera, a member of the Political Commission and delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party before OSPAAAL, and the Communist Party of Cuba. There is also Carmen Ortiz Baerga, member of the Secretariat of International Affairs of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Doris Pizarro, member of the central committee and secretary of the Mayaguez zone of the party.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Martinez, you are working here from notations in the Spanish language. In the interests of expediting the hearing, because time is running short, would it be possible for you to leave with us your Spanish language notations, together with the corresponding exhibits, so that with the help of Mr. Tarabochia, who is fluent in Spanish, we will be able to insert both the notations and the corresponding exhibits into the record at the appropriate point?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I think that would be most appropriate.

Mr. MARTIN. Is this acceptable, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Then, sir, I would just like to cover two or three very important documents, with some explanation, and I am going to skip the rest of the documents.

Mr. MARTIN. Please proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I am going to talk now about a very important activity that took place in December 1972. It was a reception for the diplomatic corps in Cuba to which the Puerto Rican Socialist Party invited representatives from all the embassies and missions. The activity took place at the gardens of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples and was presided over by Cmdr. Manuel Piñero and Lazaro Peña, members of the central committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Off the record, please.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Back on the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. As well as Flavia Rivera, permanent delegate of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Cuba, and Florencio Merced Rosa, member of the Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

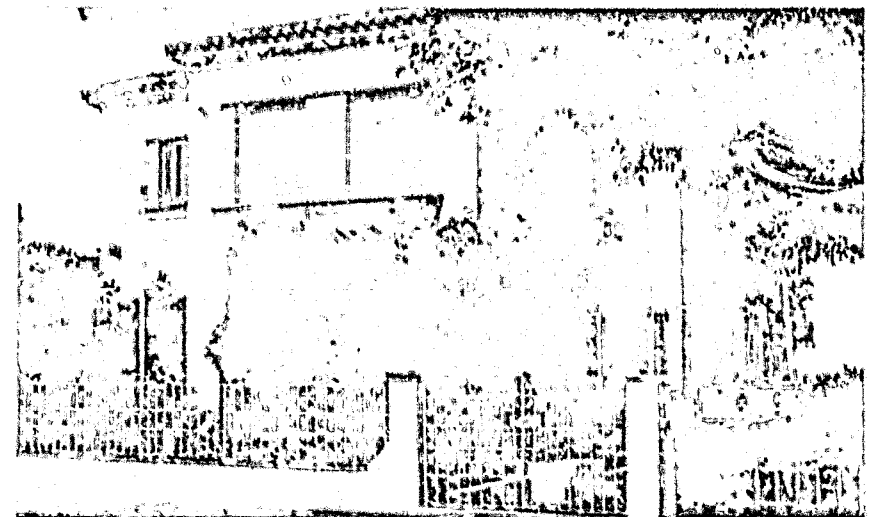
Commander Manuel Piñero, who, according to the information published in Claridad, presided at the reception, is the First Vice Minister and Technical Vice Minister of the Ministry of the Interior in Cuba.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. On the record.

Mr. MARTINEZ. On January 26, 1973, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party inaugurated its permanent offices in Cuba located on 20th Street of Vedado. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party offices can be seen in a photograph that illustrates the article and it can be seen that they are located in a very elegant mansion in what before the Cuban revolution was one of the most exclusive sections of Havana.



Permanent mission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Cuba. Located on 20th Street, Vedado, Havana.

Mr. MARTINEZ. On July 26, 1973, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was invited to Cuba, invited by the Cuban Government to participate in the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the assault against the Moneada Barracks. The delegation was headed by Julio Vives Vasquez, president of the party. With him were Pedro Baigés Chapel, international affairs secretary, and Alberto Perez Perez, who is a member of the Central Committee and an employee of that secretariat. The delegation participated in all the commemorative acts, including the observations at Moneada Barracks and the official reception given by the Government on July 27 at the presidential palace in Havana.

During that reception, they posed for a photograph, together with Adalberto Quintana and Manuel Piñero, identified as Vice Minister of the Interior in Cuba.

I am going to submit three pages of Claridad No. 406 of August 10, 1973, which covered the meetings that took place in Havana, including a front page photo of a meeting with Julio Vives Vasquez and Cuban Defense Minister Raul Castro.

Senator THURMOND. They will be incorporated in the record in accordance with the previous order of the Chair.

[The material referred to may be found, in their Spanish version, in the files of the subcommittee.]



Major Raul Castro, Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Sister Country greets the President of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Julio Vives Vasquez, during a reception offered by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in the presidential palace, on 27th of July, as part of the commemorative ceremonies for the 20th anniversary of the assault on the Moneada Barracks. Observing is Pedro Baigés Chapel, Secretary of International Affairs of the PSP. Vives was head of the PSP delegation that participated in the historical celebration. The visit served to cement the deep relations between the two parties.



During the reception in the Presidential Palace in Cuba leaders of the PSP and officers of the Cuban government are sharing the spotlight from left to right: Adalberto Quintana, Director of the Cuban Institute of Friendship of Peoples (ICAP); Pedro Baigés Chapel; Flavia Rivera, Delegate of the PSP in Cuba; Major Manuel Piñero, Vice Minister of the Interior; Julio Vives; Alberto Perez.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, may I interject for a moment with regard to the identities of the individuals just mentioned by the witness?

Senator THURMOND. If you have some information that may be useful at this point, Mr. Tarabochia, please present it.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir. Commander Manuel Piñero Lozada, at the time Vice Minister of the Interior, was also at one time the head of the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence, the equivalent of the KGB and—

Mr. MARTIN. The Soviet KGB?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The Soviet KGB. Adalberto Quintana, who is the Director of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples is also a member of the DGI, and has been identified by one of our witnesses in testimony before the subcommittee as the individual who traveled to Paris in 1967 to prepare the recruiting of European leftists for the Cultural Conference in Havana.

It is of interest, Mr. Chairman, that the exhibit just offered contains a statement regarding the activities of Adalberto Quintana with the Puerto Rican delegation. During the conversation, Vives, underlined on various occasions the impression that was left by Adalberto Quintana, the director of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples, who was the escort of the Puerto Rican delegation during its whole stay in Cuba. "There is no doubt," said Vives, "that Quintana is a great friend of Puerto Rico. On many occasions he reiterated his offer to help our cause in any way possible."

<sup>1</sup> Major Manuel Piñero Lozada is the Chief of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Department of America which directs subversive activities in the Western Hemisphere.

The fact that these two individuals are so closely connected both with the Cuban subversive and espionage apparatus and with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, is one more indication of the subservience of the PSP to its Cuban directors.

Mr. MARTIN. There has been some evidence from time to time, Mr. Tarabochia, that the Cuban Government has shown some independence—a limited independence—from Moscow's orders. Is this also true of the DGI in its relations with the KGB?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. To a very small degree. The Cuban DGI as of 1969 has been under the strict control of the Soviet KGB, and there is a KGB high official who is actually the co-Commander of the Cuban DGI alongside its Cuban chief—but the Cuban chief has to clear all his actions with the Soviets before he acts. It is through the Central Committee's Department of America that the Cuban Communist Party exhibits some independence in matters of subversion and revolution in Latin America.

It is this Department that maintains the official liaison with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The DGI naturally, despite the Soviet control, is bound to assist the Department of the Americas in matters within its purview.

Mr. MARTIN. Would it be an exaggeration to view the DGI as a direct instrument of the Soviet KGB?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It would not. On the contrary, it would be a statement of fact.

Mr. MARTIN. Returning to Mr. Martinez—unless you have something else at this point, Mr. Tarabochia. Mr. Martinez, would you continue with your statement.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir. I wanted to add, just like I mentioned, at that time of the meeting in Cuba that we are now talking about, the president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party met with Defense Minister Raul Castro, the brother of the dictator Fidel Castro, who acts as a second secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

After his trip, Julio Vivés Vasquez made the following statement in Puerto Rico:

The attentions that our delegation received in the festivities of the 26th of July in Cuba reflect the way in which the fraternal relations between our Party and the Communist Party of Cuba are being cemented.

In the meantime, Fermin Arraiza, Assistant Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was in Cuba participating in a preparatory meeting for the Congress of Peace Supporters that would take place in October 1973, sponsored by the World Peace Council. During the meeting that took place in Moscow, Arraiza requested that the Puerto Rican case be included in the Congress.

After his meetings in Moscow, Arraiza traveled to North Vietnam where he met with the top leaders of the Communist Party. He participated in an interview with Nguyen Duy Trinh, First Vice Minister and Secretary of Foreign Relations of North Vietnam, who, at that time, was Acting Prime Minister of North Vietnam. During his stay in Hanoi, Arraiza visited the People's Achievement Exposition and posed for a picture close to the wreckage of a B-52 Air Force plane that had been shot down over Hanoi.

On October 20, 1973, a Puerto Rican delegation left for the Soviet Union to participate in the World Congress of the Forces for Peace, Security and National Independence, to take place in Moscow from the 25th to the 31st of that month. Delegates of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Communist Party participated together with the pro-independence legislator, Carlos Gallisa and Attorney Noel Colon Martinez. The delegation was presided over by Fermin Arraiza. Representing the PSP together with Arraiza were Luis Eseribano, member of the Central Committee and the Labor Affairs Secretariat, and Carlos Rivera of the Political Education Secretariat.

Eseribano traveled to Moscow from Varna, Bulgaria, where he was representing the Puerto Rican Socialist Party at the 7th Congress of the World Federation of Labor Unions.

I have one more point, and this completes this part of the testimony.

In June 1974, the Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party met in Havana, Cuba with Prime Minister Fidel Castro. The meeting, according to Claridad, was called to consolidate even more the mutual solidarity between both parties and the peoples of both countries and particularly to strengthen the international solidarity for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people.

The meeting between the two leaders was a highlight of the official visit of the PSP delegation headed by Mari Bras and Fermin Arraiza that traveled to Cuba to participate in a meeting of vice ministers of foreign relations of the socialist countries. Mari Bras and Arraiza arrived in Cuba through the Santiago airport where they were received by Commander Juan Almeida, member of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party; and in Havana the delegation was received by Manuel Piñero, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

Later, the delegation met with the Minister of Foreign Relations of Cuba, Raul Roa, to discuss the case of Puerto Rico before the United Nations. During their stay in Cuba, Mari Bras and Arraiza participated in many activities, the most important of them being the one that established the Cuban Committee of Solidarity with the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, headed by Jose Lopez Pimentel, a director of the Cuban Daily, Juventud Rebelde, or Youth in Rebellion.

Also, Mari Bras' speech in the solidarity act that took place at a sugar cane mill named Puerto Rico Libre in Matanzas. This speech was published completely in the Cuban Daily, Granma, official organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

Mari Bras also participated in a conference at the University of Havana, a press conference with Cuban journalists. In many of these activities, according to Claridad, the Puerto Ricans were escorted by Commanders Jesus Montane and Manuel Pineiro.

After this delegation, Fermin Arraiza remained in Cuba to participate in other activities for the party.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator THURMOND. Proceed.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I believe that the evidence that I have presented on the international activities of the Socialist Party should be—

Mr. MARTIN. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party?

Mr. MARTINEZ. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, should be enough to convince anyone that this party has very close ties with the Cuban Communist government and, like Mr. Tarabochia pointed out, with the Cuban intelligence apparatus.

Mr. MARTIN. I have a question here, Mr. Martinez. Your documentation, if I remember correctly, goes up until about the middle of 1974?

Mr. MARTINEZ. The one I have here, yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. Some 14 months have passed, approximately, since that time. Have there been any changes in the situation? Are you aware of any changes that would suggest that there may have been a reduction in contacts with Cuba or in DGI influence in the Puerto Rican Socialist Party—or is there reason for believing the pattern which you describe continues to this day?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Sir, the evidence that has been collected after the exhibits I have just furnished the committee demonstrates that it is just to the contrary, that the relations between the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Cuban Government and Cuban intelligence apparatus are ever increasing. Just to give you several examples, quite recently the Cuban Film Institute prepared, together with Teatro Tirabuzon Rojo, the Graphic Arts Workshop of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a film called "Puerto Rico." This film was a Cuban-Puerto Rican coproduction.

Mr. MARTIN. Cuban-Puerto Rican or——

Mr. MARTINEZ. Puerto Rican Socialist Party coproduction. It was—part of it was filmed in Puerto Rico and the technical production of the film was done in Cuba.

Mr. MARTIN. When did this film come out?

Mr. MARTINEZ. It is quite recent. The article I have about this film in Claridad was published on the first of July of this year.

Mr. MARTIN. Could you tell us some more about the film?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, I have a complete exhibit that I am willing to submit for the record. But, according to the article I have here, it is a film of disinformation. By that, the Cubans mean that they want to present just the opposite picture of what the United States is trying to present in the Puerto Rican case. If the United States is trying to present evidence to the effect that Puerto Rico is a country that has exercised its right to free determination, well, the Cubans are just trying to project the opposite image, and this is a coproduction of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Cuban Institute of Graphic Arts in film making.

Mr. MARTIN. You are offering this article for the record?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for inclusion in the record by reference, Mr. Chairman, with the understanding that the Chair will later determine which paragraphs should be printed in English translation because they appear to be the most pertinent to the subject of this hearing?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. May I interject again, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. If you have some observations that are pertinent to the matter under discussion, go ahead.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir, I do. I have good reason to believe that this Cuban-PSP coproduction of a film responds to a pressing need of the Cuban propaganda apparatus, since Cuba is going to be the seat of an international conference which is to take place from September 5 to September 7 and is to emphasize solidarity with Puerto Rico. It is sponsored by the World Peace Council, which has been identified previously as a Moscow dominated organization. This film will undoubtedly be used to impress even more the captive audience that will be attending the conference.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Martinez?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. I was just going to mention the Conference of Solidarity with the Puerto Rican people which, I believe, is the most recent and most important indication.

Mr. MARTIN. This is the conference to which Mr. Tarabochia just referred?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. It is the most important indication of the very close relations of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party with Cuba. This conference that is going to take place in Havana in September is going to gather together all the Communist parties of the world, including those that are leaning to Russia and those that are leaning to China. It seems it is going to be a major issue in the attack on the United States. I mean that the Puerto Rican case is going to be used, like Mari Bras said before, as a bridgehead to attack the United States from within and from the international front.

In this respect I believe that it is no coincidence that this conference is being held just prior to the Bicentennial year. I strongly believe that the Cubans have decided to use all means available to disrupt the Bicentennial celebrations in the United States. This is my personal——

Mr. MARTIN. Why do you say the Cubans have decided? Do you mean the Puerto Rican Socialist Party—or the Cuban Government—or both of them?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No; the Cuban Government has decided. And if the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is working so closely with the Cuban Government they are working together in this effort. What I think is that the Cuban Government has decided to use the Puerto Rican case as an excuse for disrupting the Bicentennial year in the United States and I believe that there is strong evidence in that respect.

Mr. MARTIN. You have already presented some documentation on that precise subject.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes sir and this——

Mr. MARTIN. Some quotes from Juan Mari Bras.

Mr. MARTINEZ. In which he threatened to disrupt the Bicentennial celebrations on July 4, 1976, but I feel this goes even beyond that. The conference will provide the ideal excuse for international publicity to the Puerto Rican case, and I would not be surprised—and this is just an expression of opinion—I would not be surprised if, together with the conference, we would have some acts of sabotage and terrorism in Puerto Rico and in the United States. That has been the case before, to get publicity for their activities. As a matter of fact, my personal opinion regarding the terrorist acts that have taken place in New York City and in Chicago is that they are part of a Cuban operation specifically designed to disrupt the Bicentennial, and that the Puerto Rico issue is just an excuse.

Mr. MARTIN. What you are suggesting in effect, Mr. Martinez, is that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party functions as an adjunct of the Castro government—

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well—

Mr. MARTIN [continuing]. That the Castro government at least has a very large degree of control over the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTINEZ. I believe the evidence I have furnished—which is not exactly a superficial analysis of this situation—is enough to indicate that if we go beyond what they have printed in their newspapers and we analyze what has really happened in those meetings in Cuba, which is something I don't precisely know, most likely we are going to find more information of a very strong relationship, probably a relationship of subservience.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have anything else you wish to say in your testimony?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, sir, I would like to conclude my testimony by presenting a brief statement about the final offensive of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party because I believe that it is a very notable theory that had not been adequately understood.

Mr. MARTIN. When you say the "final offensive," are you using an expression that they themselves use? Do they talk about a "final offensive?"

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, not exactly in these terms, but—

Mr. MARTIN. Are these your words, in short, or are they the words of Juan Mari Bras and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party?

Mr. MARTINEZ. When I say the "final offensive," I am referring to a final strategy that the party has proclaimed. These are my own words, in short. But, what I am talking about is the final stages of the plans that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has made for Puerto Rico's independence. And here again these international relations are going to be very important.

After the Communist Party is firmly organized, it launches its final offensive, aimed at the destruction of the established order. Communist techniques for take-over vary from participation in elections to violent revolutions. In Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has already launched its offensive, using a clever strategy that combined elements of each technique. This strategy is called the theory of the crisis.

The logic behind this theory is the following. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States, an imperialistic capitalist country. The United States stays in Puerto Rico because it obtains great profits from the exploitation of the Puerto Rican people. If, for any reason, the United States ceases to derive profits from Puerto Rico, it will grant independence to the island. Thus, the role of the Socialist Party is to create a crisis aimed at making Puerto Rico a headache instead of a source of profit for the United States.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party's strategy consists of three stages. The first one is the economic crisis. If the United States is looking for profit in Puerto Rico, the main source is obviously the American-owned industry. By reducing the profit obtained by factories and by crippling the economy with the resulting economic crisis, the objective of making Puerto Rico less attractive for the United States will be furthered.

To create an economic crisis, the best tool is the labor movement. That is why the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been so active in the penetration of the labor movement.

At this time, I would like to introduce as an exhibit a copy of the 1971 plan for the infiltration of the labor movement by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. Where does this plan come from?

Mr. MARTINEZ. It is published in "Nueva Lucha," the political discussion publication of the Pro-Independence Movement.

Mr. MARTIN. And you are offering this for the record?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for the record at this point, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. MARTINEZ. Sir, the plan is called Objectives of Labor Struggle of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement. It was presented at the Second Seminar on Labor Affairs of the Pro-Independence Movement that took place in Trujillo Alto in January 1971. It is a very significant plan, because everything that has taken place in Puerto Rico ever since that time is in this document, including cells in the factories, participation in strikes, and the infiltration of labor unions.

The party put this plan I am talking about into action immediately and Puerto Rico suffered a dramatic increase in the number of strikes. During these strikes, a new weapon was introduced—massive sabotage of public utilities.

Mr. MARTIN. Approximately what time period are you talking about, Mr. Martinez? Beginning when and up until what time?

Mr. MARTINEZ. The plan was announced in 1971, about 6 months before the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement was renamed the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Mr. MARTIN. You have just been talking about a new stage in the struggle which involved massive sabotage of public utilities. When did that begin and when did it end, or is it still going on?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, it started just about that time, probably, in 1972, with the telephone company strike where a lot of cable cutting was done by union persons, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party spoke in favor of the cable-cutting, although they did not claim responsibility for it.

By 1973, it took big proportions when massive sabotage of the electric power authority forced the government to call out the National Guard, with the resulting riots and incidents. That strike in 1973 cost \$150 million in losses.

Mr. MARTIN. These are economic losses, not losses through sabotage?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Economic losses, but caused indirectly by sabotage because 118 plants had to close operations because of lack of power and they had to lay off 10,000 workers. So they are directly—

Mr. MARTIN. Economic losses as a direct result of sabotage?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes. Directly related to loss of work by sabotage.

Mr. MARTIN. What about the situation in 1974 and so far this year?



Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. The situation continued. In November 1974, the Aqueduct and Sewer Authority workers went on strike and again the same thing happened—massive sabotage of water installations took place to the extent that the Governor again had to mobilize the National Guard to protect the installations.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, at this point I think it is—may I ask permission again, because I think it is important to interject something.

Senator THURMOND. If you have something of relevance, please offer it at this point.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. With regard to the statement just made by Mr. Martinez, I have evidence in my possession that indicates the direct involvement of a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in acts of sabotage at the time indicated. This information in more detail will be made part of my testimony later on, but I thought it was pertinent to make it known at this time.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you. Would you proceed, Mr. Martinez.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. Since this date of 1973 that I was talking about before, the labor unrest continued growing. The strike at the Aqueducts and Sewers Authority in November 1974, represented a real escalation because this time the sabotage was not only to the waterplants, but to the electric supply for the waterplants.

Mr. MARTIN. You mean the waterplants were deprived of electric power for a period of time?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, by cutting wires, cutting—

Mr. MARTIN. The water supply to Puerto Rican cities was cut?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir, as a result of the strike.

Mr. MARTIN. And for how long was the supply cut off?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, most of the —

Mr. MARTIN [continuing]. Or was it a series of interruptions?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Most of the interruptions were a matter of hours, but some extended for days and it was a state of emergency that forced the Governor to call the National Guard and supply water to several hospitals and some communities.

Mr. MARTIN. When did this situation terminate?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Well, it terminated with the end of the strike early in December, but not before a serious rash of terrorism took place in which 17 bombs were planted at installations including an Army Reserve installation in which several trucks were destroyed by an explosion.

Mr. MARTIN. Have there been any incidents of major sabotage directed against public utilities since the beginning of 1975?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. Right at the present moment there is a strike of the Puerto Rico Telephone Co., which is now owned by the government. This strike has been going on for about 2 or 3 months, and during the strike many, many, many telephone installations have been destroyed by sabotage. At the same time there is a strike of the Puerto Rico Cement Co., which is a private company that supplies concrete for practically all construction in Puerto Rico, and that strike has been marked by bombings of all kinds against different private installations.

Mr. MARTIN. When you say bombings of all kinds, you mean that there have been many bombings?

Mr. MARTINEZ. No. I mean different types of bombings, because—

Mr. MARTIN. There have been different kinds of bombings. When you say different kinds of bombings, what do you mean?

Mr. MARTINEZ. They have varied from—

Mr. MARTIN. Fire bombings and—

Mr. MARTINEZ. They have varied from Molotov cocktails to explosive devices that have destroyed buildings.

Mr. MARTIN. But there have been a number of bombings in connection with the cement strike?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir. Certainly. Not only in Puerto Rico but in the United States, and that particular bombing in New York City—

Mr. MARTIN. Now, when you say there have been bombings in the United States, were these bombings carried out by Puerto Rican terrorists in the United States or were they bombings carried out by American terrorist groups in sympathy with them?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I was going to point out precisely that there was a bombing in your city at the Banco de Ponce which is partly owned by the owners of the Puerto Rico Cement.

The bombings of the Banco de Ponce in New York was placed supposedly by the Weather Underground.

Mr. MARTIN. The Weather Underground claimed credit for it, you mean?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARTIN. Were any people killed in that bombing?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Not that I know of. But the thing is, that shows again how radical groups in the United States are rallying around the issue of Puerto Rican independence and making everything—making every possible effort to disrupt the Bicentennial.

These things I have been talking about right now sum up the goal of producing an economic crisis in Puerto Rico. The economic crisis is not the final goal of Puerto Rican Socialist Party. It is just the first in the three stages of the theory of the crisis. The second stage is the social crisis. They believe that the economic crisis will bring increasing unemployment and poverty. That will create the state of unrest that can be manipulated by the Communists and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is working actively toward this goal by organizing and radicalizing the unemployment, by creating cells in the poor communities, and by launching a massive propaganda program that includes very, very sophisticated techniques.

The third stage of this program is the political crisis that will overthrow the government. The political crisis is the end result of the social crisis. It will consist of general strikes in the economic front, organized by the Central Workers Union which the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is trying to create, and this is still in the planning stage. Also, terrorist acts, riots, and projects on the political front, and pressure on the United States by means of two fronts, the mainland front and the international front.

I have already talked about these two fronts, but to sum up, the idea is that they are going to create pressure for Puerto Rico's independence by means of all kinds of terrorists' acts within the United States and by international pressure at the United Nations and elsewhere. And this conference that is going to take place in Havana is probably part of these preparations for the final stage.

I think that this, what I have presented so far, gives more than clear evidence of the fact that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is a Marxist-Leninist, or Communist, Party with very clear connections with Cuba and that it is a direct threat to the continental United States.

That concludes my prepared statement.

Thank you.

Mr. MARTIN. Your evidence also suggests that it has some very clear connections with Moscow, since the Puerto Rican Solidarity Conference which is about to convene in Havana is really being convened under the auspices of an international organization which is generally known to be Moscow controlled, isn't that so?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Certainly. The World Peace Council is a Soviet organization, or Soviet-controlled organization.

Mr. MARTIN. It is not a Havana-controlled organization; it is a Moscow-controlled organization?

You have a partnership here between the Cuban Government and a Moscow-controlled international front organization?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Certainly. The director of the conference is a Cuban, but then the conference is promoted by the Peace Council, which is a Moscow-controlled organization.

Mr. MARTIN. Does that conclude your testimony, Mr. Martinez?

Mr. MARTINEZ. There is much more that I could say, but to say it all might take another several days. I might mention that I have, for some time now, been preparing a study—a very well-documented study—of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. This study deals particularly with the Communist infiltration of the Puerto Rican trade union movement, Communist exploitation of the unions and strikes for political purposes, and the use of terrorism as a strike weapon.

Mr. MARTIN. For whom have you been preparing this study?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I have been working on it in the hope that the information would be useful to some agency of the U.S. Government. I have tried to put together all the facts, because no one has yet done it.

Mr. MARTIN. How long is this study?

Mr. MARTINEZ. It's not quite complete. I suppose it will be over 400 typewritten pages when it's done.

Mr. MARTIN. How long will it take you to complete this study?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I'm finishing it now. It should be ready in another week or 10 days.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you feel that the information and documentation contained in your study would add significantly to the information and documentation you have provided in the course of today's testimony?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes, there are many important facts in my study that I wasn't able to talk about today.

Mr. MARTIN. Would you be prepared to offer your study to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, for publication as a supplement to the testimony you have given today?

Mr. MARTINEZ. I would be honored to give it to the subcommittee when it's ready. I think its publication would be useful.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose that Mr. Martinez, since it is agreeable to him, be asked to submit his study of Communist exploitation of the trade union movement in Puerto

Rico, as a supplement of the testimony he has just given, with the understanding that the decision on whether or not to publish the document as a supplement will be reserved until after the subcommittee has had an opportunity to review the material.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions to ask.

Senator THURMOND. I want to thank you very much, Mr. Martinez, for taking the trouble to come here and giving us this very important information about a situation that is really not well understood in our country. I think you have performed a real public service by giving the subcommittee this information and on behalf of the subcommittee I want to thank you again.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Thank you, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Our next witness is Mr. Alfonso L. Tarabochia of the staff of the Subcommittee on Internal Security. Mr. Tarabochia, since you have already been sworn, we can proceed with the questioning.

You have been employed by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security for a number of years now?

#### TESTIMONY OF ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir, I have, since February 1962.

Senator THURMOND. What have your duties consisted of?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. At the present time I am the chief investigator of the subcommittee.

Senator THURMOND. For how long have you held this position?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Since 1960.

Senator THURMOND. What were your duties prior to that time?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Prior to 1960, from 1962 to 1960, I was an investigator on the staff of the subcommittee. I was based in Miami, Fla.

Senator THURMOND. You are fluent in the Spanish language?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I am, sir.

Senator THURMOND. As part of your duties have you, over a period of years, made a continuing study of communism in Puerto Rico?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir, I have. As a matter of fact my interest in terrorist activities in Puerto Rico began even before my employment by the subcommittee. In 1960 or 1961, when I was member of the intelligence unit of the Dade County Public Safety Department, I became aware of a series of terrorist acts involving arson and bombings of business establishments in San Juan, P.R.

Because of the large Puerto Rican and Cuban population of Dade County even at that time, and the fact that there had been bombings of a political-religious nature in the Miami area, a cursory investigation was initiated to determine whether any ramifications could be expected in the department's jurisdiction. From the outset it became apparent that the acts of terrorism in San Juan were politically motivated and there were strong indications that the suspects were members of a pro-Castro organization masquerading as an independence movement. I may add that there had been, in the early part of 1961, similar acts of sabotage perpetrated against expropriated businesses in Havana by members of anti-Castro resistance groups and reprisals



in the Miami area could not be excluded. Statements released at the time and the timing of the terrorist acts also indicated that a newly formed group, the Movimiento Pro Independencia—MPI—which had come into existence in Puerto Rico in the fall of 1959, not only condoned such acts but actually supported them. The MPI openly supported the Castro regime in Cuba and welcomed any assistance from that quarter in order to obtain the independence of the island and the establishment of a Marxist government. Of course at that time their statements were much more guarded but the substance was much the same as it is today.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Martin, do you wish to inquire?

Mr. MARTIN. When you speak about early terrorist incidents, Mr. Tarabochia, what period of time are you speaking about?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I am speaking of the early 1960's.

Mr. MARTIN. And you have had this situation under study since that time?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Since that time sir, yes.

Mr. MARTIN. You testified before this subcommittee on the subject of terrorism in Puerto Rico and communism in Puerto Rico a number of years ago, did you not?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir, in November of 1968 in connection with the appearance before the subcommittee of Maj. Maldonado Trinidad and Mr. Franklin Ballou.

Mr. MARTIN. Could you, for the purpose of establishing some of the background, provide us with a brief synopsis of your testimony on that occasion?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. My testimony at that time dealt mainly with the efforts of Cuba to promote the so-called decolonization of Puerto Rico through the manipulation of the representatives of the newly independent African countries at the United Nations. To that end, the Cubans had given Cuban citizenship to the widow of a Puerto Rican activist, Pedro Albizu Campos—who, since my testimony, has died—for the purpose of establishing relations with the governments of these African countries and obtaining the necessary votes to support the Cuban proposal—a proposal having propaganda objectives—to declare Puerto Rico a colony of the United States.

Mr. MARTIN. Have you come across any evidence which indicates to you that there may have been some fundamental change in the operatives of the Cuban Communists since your testimony we have just referred to?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. On the contrary, the efforts of the Cuban Politburo in this respect have been constant—pursued with a relentless determination and punctuated by profusely vituperative attacks against the United States and its representatives at the United Nations by the Cuban Ambassador, Ricardo Alarón de Quesada. What is really sad is the fact that all these insidious efforts to have the U.S. condemned as a colonial power have received little or no attention from the Congress and the general public—mainly because the news media have ignored or downplayed this situation.

Mr. SORWINE. These efforts you speak of are following a line opened up by Alger Hiss, are they not? I mean the efforts to make the United States look like a colonial power.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, when he listed Panama, without justification, as a U.S. colony.

Mr. MARTIN. You imply that Cuba is currently intensifying its efforts to subvert Puerto Rico. Is there any concrete evidence of this?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I am absolutely convinced that this is so, especially in view of the current flurry of activity and propaganda which is preparing the way for a well orchestrated event which is to take place in Havana a few weeks from now, from September 5 to September 7, 1975.

Mr. MARTIN. To what event are you referring?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I am referring to the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, which is going to be held in Cuba under the auspices of the Communist-dominated World Council for Peace. The conference is timed to coincide with the forthcoming U.N. General Assembly and thus create a base of influence in that body.

Mr. MARTIN. You had mentioned earlier that the Cubans had spearheaded the effort to have the U.S. condemned as a colonial power by the United Nations. To what degree have they been successful?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In August 1972, Cuba, after almost 10 years of trying, managed to introduce a motion to have Puerto Rico declared a colony of the United States by the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations. As a result, that committee, consisting of 24 member nations, adopted a resolution which in effect gave approval to the actions of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and its Cuban mentors by declaring that the Puerto Ricans had the right to self-determination and independence. The Cubans were quick to point out that the decision of the Decolonization Committee was in harmony with the mandate given that Committee in 1960 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and that the vote reflected the struggle against colonialism without taking into account the power of the administering country. What passed unnoticed was the fact that the vote was far from unanimous, 12 members voting in favor with 10 abstentions, and that there had been a long power play replete with byzantine intrigue to pack the Committee with members inimical to the United States. Cuba had some powerful allies in that committee—especially Chile, whose president, Salvador Allende, was, in addition to being a Marxist, a close personal friend of Fidel Castro. It was Chile that on August 23, 1972, transmitted a statement by its Foreign Minister expressing the hope that the Special Committee would decide that the declaration on the granting of independence was applicable to Puerto Rico.

The Chilean move was the result of a clever play by Cuba, which on February 9 and March 25, 1972, had sent letters to the U.N. Committee maintaining that Puerto Rico was not an independent territory but was under the colonial domination of the United States.

To force the hand of the U.N. Committee, Cuba, on June 7, 1972, transmitted a statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party that the General Assembly's resolution 1514 (xv) of December 14, 1960—on the granting of independence of colonial countries and peoples—fully applied to Puerto Rico. In vain the U.S. replied, on February 28 and August 18, 1972, that Cuba's request constituted interference in the affairs of

the United States and Puerto Rico, and was a violation of article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter, which states—I quote—

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

The fact that the people of Puerto Rico had chosen their form of government in free and open elections and that they had chosen to live in a democracy under a constitution of their choosing in free association with the United States was considered irrelevant—as was the fact that the General Assembly by its resolution of November 27, 1953, had acknowledged that Puerto Rico had achieved self-government. Then on August 28, 1972, the Committee, after discussion, adopted the resolution that I mentioned previously. In addition, it instructed its working group to submit at an early date in 1973, a report relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Committee for the implementation of that resolution with respect to Puerto Rico. This resolution was adopted by a roll call vote, with Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, the Syrian Arab Republic, the U.S.S.R., the United Republic of Tanzania, and Yugoslavia voting in favor. Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Fiji, Indonesia, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia and Venezuela abstained.

The countries which favored the resolution are either outright members of the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs or their clients. Few, if any, have a freely-elected government.

Mr. SOURWINE. After that, what happened?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Emboldened by this initial success, the Cubans and their clients, the PSP, moved immediately to consolidate their victory. There were changes in the formation of the 1973 Committee, with Chile and the Popular Republic of Congo—Brazzaville—replacing Madagascar and Ecuador, in addition to the return of Australia which had withdrawn its participation.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any evidence that the Castro government has been able to exploit or take advantage of these changes in the Committee's composition?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The Cubans, on the whole, were delighted by the changes because Chile, under Salvador Allende, was one of their closest allies and the Popular Republic of the Congo, one of their clients in Africa. As a matter of fact, the Cubans maintain a military mission in Brazzaville and, a few years ago, helped put down a revolt that had deposed the President. However, the return of Australia to the U.N. Committee was of concern to the Cubans who were aware of the close relationship between that country and the United States. In their eyes, the Committee had reached its peak of effectiveness after the imperialist forces had been forced out.

Despite that, the Communists left nothing to chance and immediately dispatched a member of the PSP Central Committee, Dr. Jose Milton Soltero, to Africa to present the PSP case to the Congolese. The result was easy to foresee. Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister assured the Puerto Rican Communist that they would support the cause of Puerto Rico before the United Nations.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record some of the documents I have mentioned: specifically, I wish to offer for the record, the following:

- (1) The Cuban letters of February 9 and March 25, 1972;
- (2) The statement of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party;
- (3) The replies by the United States dated February 28 and August 18, 1972.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, they will be received.  
[The material referred to follows:]

#### COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

##### A. Letter dated 9 February 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honour to request the inclusion of the colonial question of Puerto Rico in this year's agenda of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Consideration of this Territory falls well within the competence of the Special Committee under the mandate expressly entrusted to it by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As will be recalled, the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the agenda of the Special Committee was requested by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba in a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on 1 October 1965 (A/AC.109/144). My Government made that request in accordance with the decisions adopted in October 1964 by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (A/5763), which included the following in the Declaration it adopted:

"It draws the attention of the *Ad hoc* Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico and calls upon that commission to consider the situation of these Territories in the light of resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations."

The Special Committee was unable to discuss the question of Puerto Rico at its 1966 session for lack of time, and it decided to postpone discussion to the following year.

In April 1967, after the question had been examined by the Working Group (A/AC.109/L.392) the Special Committee discussed the situation in Puerto Rico at two meetings and decided to adjourn the discussion of the question of Puerto Rico *sine die*.

My Government is strongly of the opinion that far too much time has already elapsed without the Special Committee finding any solution to this problem.

And yet, Puerto Rico is a Territory to which resolution 1514 (XV) fully applies; Puerto Rico is not an independent Territory and it does not form an integral part of any other Territory but has been under the colonial domination of the United States of America for 73 years. For that reason, immediate discussion of this matter and the fulfilment by the Special Committee of the mandate specifically laid upon it by the General Assembly involve an imperative question of principle and there must be no more delay.

In this connexion I should like to draw the Committee's attention to resolution 2878 (XXVI) adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1971, paragraph 10 of which reads as follows:

"10. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session."

In view of the fact that it is more than six years since Cuba originally made its request and that the General Assembly is to consider "the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence" at its next session, the Special Committee is under an obligation to include the question of Puerto Rico

in its agenda, to discuss it at its present session and to make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly for discussion at its next session, in the autumn of this year.

My Government therefore requests the Special Committee to decide immediately to include the question of Puerto Rico on its agenda and to give due priority to the discussion of this question at the session now beginning.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) RICARDO ALARCON, Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative of Cuba  
to the United Nations.

*B. Letter dated 25 March 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee*

On 20 February 1972, a letter from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America was circulated as an official document. It purported to be a response to the letter which I sent you on 9 February 1972 requesting that the Special Committee responsible for considering the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should discuss the question of Puerto Rico.

In his letter the representative of the United States Government expresses "in the most unequivocal terms" his opposition to the consideration of this question on the grounds that it would be an act of interference "in the affairs of the United States of America and of Puerto Rico" and a violation of Article 2 (7) of the Charter. While reserving my right to place before the Special Committee at a later date information which exhaustively documents the colonial situation in Puerto Rico, at this time I would like to make a few comments on the letter from the representative of the United States Government.

The argument that consideration of colonial situations constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of the colonial Power is as old as colonialism itself. The Members of the United Nations are quite familiar with this contention. This has always been the argument used by South Africa, Portugal and other colonial Powers attempting to justify their opposition to the liberation of the Territories they occupy. The reference to "the affairs of Puerto Rico" is nothing more than an inept and hypocritical trick designed to deceive those who have no direct knowledge of the situation in the Territory. The affairs of Puerto Rico are decided in Washington, D.C., by the North American authorities without the slightest regard for the wishes of the Puerto Rican people. From any perspective and in every respect, Puerto Rico is a Territory "administered" by the United States for the exclusive benefit of its monopolies. In point of fact there is only one Power which for three quarters of a century has been intervening and continues to intervene in the affairs of Puerto Rico: the United States. It is the height of hypocrisy that its representatives should act out the role of accusing others of interfering in the affairs of this island, which is oppressed and occupied by the North American imperialists, when what these others ask is that the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to exercise their sovereign rights. To make such accusations in the United Nations, cynically invoking the San Francisco Charter, is, moreover, to show disrespect for the Charter, the Organization and its Members.

In document A/8441 which was circulated last year, I had occasion to indicate how Puerto Rico is completely subjected to the legislative, judicial, economic, commercial, military, police and administrative control of the United States.

There is no aspect of Puerto Rican life over which North American imperialism does not have absolute control. This is a typical example of colonialism. There is no substantive criterion whatsoever which justifies a distinction between the situation in Puerto Rico and that prevailing in any of the other Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned. Nevertheless, the United States Government, in violation of the Charter and in defiance of the numerous resolutions against colonialism adopted by the General Assembly, has brought and is bringing to bear pressure of every kind of an effort to prevent the international community from discharging its responsibilities in regard to Puerto Rico.

The conduct of the North American delegation in the matter of Puerto Rico has placed the United Nations in a position where its prestige will be seriously damaged if the Special Committee does not decide immediately, as I had the honour to request in my letter of 9 February, to consider the question of Puerto Rico in the light of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

The colonial status of Puerto Rico is so obvious that the North American delegation was unable to refute even a single piece of the evidence which my delegation put forward for the consideration of the Organization. The North American Government knows that it would never be able to deceive anyone about the true status of the Territory if the Organization were able to consider it in the same way as it does other Territories. The United States Government is well aware of the fact that the United Nations has undergone a substantial transformation with regard to the question of colonialism and that, in 1972, it would never be able to obtain a majority of Member States willing to condone or accept the colonial oppression imposed by it on the people of Puerto Rico and its savage repression.

Having no arguments whatsoever that hold water, the only hope for the United States lies in winning acceptance for the view that the question of Puerto Rico is still outside the purview of the Special Committee. This tactic, in the final analysis, demonstrates a complete lack of respect for the Members of the United Nations and, in particular, for the membership of the Special Committee. Having nothing but its power to fall back on, the United States presumes to dictate to the Organization and to prevent it from implementing, in a case which directly and exclusively affects the interests of North American exploiters, the decisions of the General Assembly and, in particular, the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). The Government in Washington, D.C., is applying the same colonialist logic in its behaviour towards the United Nations as in its behaviour towards Puerto Rico: it is trying to treat the United Nations as if it were another North American possession.

If the North American Government feels sure that the international community is willing to accept its contention that Puerto Rico is not a territory under the colonial domination of Washington, D.C., why is it so adamantly opposed to consideration of this question by the Special Committee? Why does it contest the position taken by the anti-colonialist majority of Member States? Why does it refuse to accede to the request of some 47 heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries which, since 1964, have been urging the Special Committee to consider the question of Puerto Rico? Why is it so brazenly applying pressure on those who support the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people?

The explanation is clear. The only reason why the United Nations has so far been unable to fulfil its obligation as regards the Puerto Rican question is perfectly well known to all Members of the Organization. It is the pressure brought to bear by the North American Government and its persistent refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions on decolonization. In taking that attitude, the United States Government is assuming a most truculent, unyielding and defiant colonialist posture. Basically, it is not just the question of Puerto Rico which is before the Special Committee. What is at stake is something much more far-reaching which affects the very essence of the decolonization process. The question at issue is whether or not a great imperialist Power can flout the will of the majority of Member States. The question at issue is whether or not a great imperialist Power can impose its will on the United Nations. The question at issue is whether or not its interests can triumph over the anti-colonialist principles adopted by the General Assembly.

The hypocritical and calculatedly false arguments adduced by the representative of the United States cannot mislead anyone. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. That is how the North American Supreme Court, Congress and the executive branch define and consider it. The Puerto Rican people have never been able to determine their destiny freely by peaceful means. To assert that they have done so, as the North American representative has stated on several occasions, in "free elections" is an out-and-out lie. The aim of the colonial "elections" has never been to define the status of the islands. Their only purpose has been to elect minor functionaries to deal with the few local aspects of the island's life which the United States has deigned to relegate to its colonial lackeys. Even so, the local elections were held under the absolute control of the North American authorities and under North American laws in a country which has been under the military occupation of the United States Army for 73 years, while tens of thousands of North American settlers participate in the electoral process. What is more, the Puerto Rican "elections" have one of the highest rates of abstentions and non-participation. Despite the sums invested and the pressures brought to bear on potential voters by the colonial authorities, not even half of the Puerto Rican population has ever taken part in the elections.

In his letter the representative of the North American Government states *inter alia* that our request to the Special Committee "is an insult to the people of Puerto Rico who have chosen to live in a democracy, under a Constitution of their own choosing, in free association with the United States". No one could conceive of a grosser insult to the Puerto Rican people. The people of Puerto Rico have never "chosen" to live in the North American "democracy". It was the invading troops of the United States who thrust that fate upon them in July 1898. The people of Puerto Rico did not choose their present status. It was determined by legislation of the North American Congress which only the lawmakers in Washington, D.C., can amend, if and when they see fit to do so. There is no "free association" between Puerto Rico and the United States in the sense understood by the United Nations for the present relationship between them violates the two principles laid down by the General Assembly: self-determination and equal rights.

With the typical arrogance of a declining imperial power, the representative of the United States claims to speak on behalf of the people of Puerto Rico and makes a mockery of their national sentiments. The Puerto Rican people do not consist of the insignificant handful of wretched United States employees who make up the local colonial administration and are the only ones satisfied with the situation now prevailing in the territory. The Puerto Rican people do not consist of masses of men and women obedient to the dictates of North American imperialism. Few peoples have struggled so long, heroically and tenaciously for their national independence as the people of Puerto Rico. The North American intervention of 1898 occurred at the end of a 30-year period in which the people of Puerto Rico had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the people of Cuba for their emancipation from Spain. Since then and up to the present time, Puerto Ricans have never accepted the Yankee invaders' usurpation of their rights.

The history of Puerto Rico since 1898 may be described as a continuing battle against the Yankee usurpers. It was expressed heroically in the life of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and the unrelenting struggle of the Puerto Rican nationalists which was ruthlessly crushed by the colonial authorities. Don Albizu languished for many years in Yankee prisons where he was subjected to harassment and cruel treatment. It assumed such brutal forms of repression as the 1937 Ponce Massacre in which the colonial troops fired with impunity on the defenceless population. The struggle reached its heroic culmination with the glorious insurrection of 1950 and the nationalist attacks on Blair House in 1950 and the United States Congress in 1954. Dozens of patriots laid down their lives in those actions, thousands were imprisoned and relentlessly persecuted by the most powerful and tyrannical imperialism. The struggle continues and is growing more intense every day in the protests of the Puerto Rican masses against the imposition of compulsory military service in the imperialist army, against the aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, against the hunger, poverty and unemployment afflicting hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans, against the use of Culebra Island as a firing range by the North American Navy, against the ferocious colonialist repression of the patriotic movement, in short, against Yankee colonial domination. Only a few months ago, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans held mass rallies on the island in memory of Don Albizu, to protest against the presence of the North American Governors in San Juan and to commemorate the anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Republic in 1868. Those rallies reflected the feelings of the great majority of the population of Puerto Rico. They served to testify to the fact that the unswerving decision of the population to be independent is stronger today than it ever was.

It is the patriots who have sacrificed their lives, fighting in the most difficult conditions for national independence, who are entitled to speak for the people of Puerto Rico. They are entitled to enjoin the United Nations to give effect to its anti-colonialist declarations and resolutions. Dozens of Puerto Ricans whose only crime is that they have fought for their country's freedom are in prison on the island or in the metropolitan territory. Among them are the valiant nationalist fighters Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores. Oscar Collazo has been in prison since 1950 and is serving a life sentence; the others have been in prison since 1954 and are serving sentences of 80 years. Of the political prisoners in the Western hemisphere, it is they who have been behind bars longest. Cut off from the outside world, subjected to conditions of imprisonment which violate the most elementary human rights, victims of the oppression and discrimination reserved, under the Yankee prison system, for revolutionaries and members of national communities regarded as inferior by the North American racists, these five fighters have not wavered for a single instant in their staunch patriotism. They are the best example of the

heroic struggle of their people. It is an elementary duty of all independent and anti-colonialist States not only to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their national independence but also to demand from the Yankee colonial authorities the immediate release of these freedom fighters. It is the duty of the Special Committee to investigate the situation of the Puerto Rican political prisoners, to demand that their fundamental rights be respected and to call, in particular, for the immediate release of Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores. No honourable man can remain silent in face of the brutal punishment inflicted by Yankee imperialism on these patriots who are guilty only of devotion to their homeland. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba takes this opportunity to reaffirm its most complete solidarity with these patriots and to request all independent States, all forces which uphold independence and justice and international public opinion to rally behind these five heroes of Caribbean independence.

In his letter the Permanent Representative of the United States presumes to level accusations against my country. The vulgarity of the accusations—a reflection of the cheap and despicable propaganda North American imperialism employed against the Cuban revolution—renders them unworthy of comment.

It is sufficient to point out that however much he may speak of "political freedom", self-determination, etc., he will not succeed in making anyone forget that he is the spokesman of that Government which has brought death and destruction to Indo-China, which upholds colonialist and racist régimes in Africa, which oppresses millions of negroes, Puerto Ricans, Chileans and Indians within its own frontiers, which has murdered dozens of North American citizens fighting for racial equality, which has, in short, become the main bastion of racism, colonialism and oppression against all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Puerto Ricans are in fact directly engaging the main enemy and scourge of all our peoples. For this reason, solidarity with this brother people is a matter of principle for all anti-imperialist revolutionaries.

Cuba, Mr. Chairman, will never waver in fulfilling its fraternal duties to the people of Puerto Rico. We shall honour the historic pledge which has united our peoples ever since they embarked together, more than a century ago, on the march towards complete emancipation as expressed in 1867 by the father of the Puerto Rican Fatherland, Ramón Emeterio Betances in the following words: "Cubans and Puerto Ricans, unite your efforts, work together, we are brothers, we are one in adversity, let us also be one in the Revolution and in the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico".

I should be grateful, Mr. Chairman, if you would arrange for this letter to be circulated as a document of the Special Committee responsible for ensuring implementation of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

(Signed) RICARDO ALARCON, Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative of Cuba  
to the United Nations.

C. Letter dated 17 June 1972 from the *Chargé d'Affaires a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the document which, on 6 June 1972, was made public by the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

I should be grateful if you would have it circulated to the members of the Committee of which you are Chairman as an official document.

(Signed) ORLANDO PEREIRA,  
*Chargé d'Affaires a.i.*

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)

To the members of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations; to all the peoples of the world:

At this time when the plenary Decolonization Committee of the United Nations (Committee of Twenty-four) is about to begin discussing the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda, the United States and its colonial Government in Puerto Rico are unleashing violence and repression against the Puerto Rican independence forces on an increasing scale, a development which demonstrates the colonial nature of the system.



As we noted in the document which was circulated on 19 May 1971 to all States Members of the United Nations (NV/245), the reluctance of the Committee of Twenty-four to comply with its legal obligation to consider the colonial status of Puerto Rico (together with the fact that for several years the pressure exerted by the United States, a nation which is interested in keeping the colonial case of Puerto Rico isolated and forgotten by the world, has been yielded to) has encouraged the repressive United States agencies operating in Puerto Rico to step up their persecution of the forces which are fighting for national liberation.

Now we have discovered and denounced to the Puerto Rican people the existence of a plan approved by the colonial Governor, Luis A. Ferré, and the Secretary of Justice, Wallace González Oliver, to fabricate accusations of alleged conspiracy against the leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Pro-Independence Movement): PSP-MPI.

In this connexion we wish to state that we have in our possession sworn testimony by persons who assert that high officers of the police of Puerto Rico have offered them large sums of money and other privileges in return for agreeing, in some cases, to act as undercover agents within the PSP-MPI and, in other cases, to make false statements implicating socialist leaders and advocates of independence in the commission of crimes. These documents constitute clear proof of the intention of the colonial Government to fabricate "evidence" against the principal leaders of the independence movement of our country.

On 20 May 1972 the Miss United States contest was held at the Hotel Cerromar at Dorado, Puerto Rico. On that same day, during the afternoon, PSP-MPI picketed the hotel in a mass demonstration protesting the holding of the contest on Puerto Rican soil. At night, when the closing ceremony of the contest was being held, a number of devices exploded in various parts of the hotel, causing material damage amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. This act of sabotage was carried out by the Comandos Armados de Liberación (Armed Liberation Commandos) (CAL), according to the press release of that armed organization published by the country's newspapers. The CAL is, as we have on several occasions informed the members of the Special Committee, a clandestine body which has been carrying out armed actions against Yankee intervention in Puerto Rico for more than five years. The authorities have never been able to arrest any of its fighters. The PSP-MPI has publicly recognized that this organization represents a legitimate form of struggle for national independence. On various occasions we have stated that we do not have and cannot have any organic link with the CAL since we operate within the narrow limits of the legal framework existing in the country, whereas the CAL operates clandestinely. At the same time, however, we assert that the importance of the clandestine and armed actions of CAL within our independence struggle will increase in proportion to the narrowing of the legal framework within which the struggle of the masses represented in the PSP-MPI and the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Independence Party) (PIP) is taking place.

What the colonial Government is trying to do is to establish on the basis of false, fabricated evidence an organic connexion between PSP-MPI and CAL. For that reason it offered Alberto González-Fernández, a former militant of the PSP, a salary of \$1,500 per month, in addition to dropping various court cases (non-political) which were pending against him in return for his services as a false witness against various national leaders of our party. Similar offers have been made to a number of other compatriots.

We denounce before the entire world this conspiracy on the part of the Government of the United States and its colonial regime in Puerto Rico to suppress the independence fighters and to try to slow down the rapidly accelerating pace of the mass struggle among our people.

The anti-Puerto Rican and anti-popular repression in our country as it has developed so far during this year may be summarized as follows:

1. Repression against those who are reclaiming the land: use of the Police Shock Force to destroy the worker communities of Villa Hostos (in the city of Mayagüez) and El Yeso (in the city of Ponce) and other communities in the towns of Santa Isabel, Salinas and Naguabo. In addition to this destruction, charges have been brought against hundreds of persons for erecting crude dwellings for their families on land belonging to the great United States corporations, such as the Central Azucarera Aguirre, or on government lands. Hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans are entirely without housing and find themselves obliged to build houses for themselves on unoccupied land.

2. The renewal of accusations against young Puerto Ricans who refuse to serve in the armed forces of the United States. These cases are being prosecuted in a

United States court operating in Puerto Rico whose proceedings are carried out in English, and under the laws of the United States. Among the accused are Angel Agosto, Secretary for Workers' Affairs of our party, and Manuel de J. González, Associate Editor of the bi-weekly *Claridad*, the newspaper of the independence movement. Both of these men are members of the Political Committee of PSP-MPI.

3. Gangs of hoodlums, paid by the party of the colonial Governor, on one occasion fired on the national offices of PIP; they have made an attempt on the life of Rubén Berríos-Martínez, the President of that party; they have attacked members of PIP and PSP-MPI who were making public collections or selling newspapers; they have used incendiary devices to attack the property of advocates of independence and socialists in San Juan, Bayamón, Jayuya, Utuado, Salinas and Naguabo; they have shot at militants of the two independence parties in Santa Isabel; and they have attacked the offices of PIP and PSP-MPI in various towns on the island.

4. The Police Shock Force brutally attacked the striking workers of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company, a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT). It brutally attacked striking workers of the newspaper *El Mundo*, a United States-owned enterprise. A journalist working for that newspaper, Bienvenido Ortiz-Otero, Vice President of the Unión de Periodistas, Artes Gráficas y Ramas Anexas (Union of Journalists, Graphic Arts and Related Branches) (UPAGRA), was clubbed on the head and had to be hospitalized. The police of Puerto Rico allied themselves with the enterprise to break the strike, using helicopters piloted by police officials themselves. When CAL destroyed the helicopters, the police falsely accused completely innocent employees of *El Mundo* of offenses involving explosives. Not content with those outrages, the United States court in Puerto Rico imposed fines of more than \$10,000 on the Unión de Periodistas for exercising the right to strike and to picket. All this forms part of a general pattern of repression against the labour movement, which is coming into the forefront of the struggle for independence and the national liberation of Puerto Rico.

5. A similar pattern of repression has been developing against the student movement. Julio Muriente, the President of the Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia (Federation of Pro-Independence University Students) (FUPI), was expelled from the University of Puerto Rico and barred for life from studying there. Rosa Mercedes Mari, a young woman militant of FUPI, was kicked by a policeman because she was going to present a national flag of Puerto Rico to the Catalan singer Joan Manuel Serrat after a concert given by him at the theatre of the University. Later, this same young woman was accused of felonious assault against four policemen. Luis Fernando Coss, president of the Federación Estudiantil Pro-Independencia (Federation of Pro-Independence Students) (FEPI), an organization of secondary-school students who are partisans of independence, was expelled from the country's public schools.

6. Two powerful bombs were placed in front of the building occupied by the newspaper *Claridad* and one of them exploded, causing damage to the office of the management of this bi-weekly. The Comandos Anticomunistas (Anti-Communist Commandos), a gang of terrorists organized by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), claimed responsibility for the felony. Several months earlier, a gang made up of members of the United States Secret Service broke into the *Claridad* building by force, breaking doors and upsetting the files and other equipment, without any legal cause or justification. José Banch, a young militant of PSP-MPI, was brutally attacked by an agent of the CIA while he was selling the newspaper *Claridad*, and hovered between life and death for a number of days at the Medical Center in the capital.

7. In the town of Manatí a gang of members of the party of the colonial Governor broke in on Eladio Rodríguez-Otero, President of the Ateneo Puertorriqueño, while he was delivering a commencement address to pupils of the high school, because he had made a reference to the fatherland and to the obligation of young Puerto Ricans to serve it. The gang prevented the continuation of the commencement exercises.

8. Twenty prominent members of the Partido Nuevo Progresista (New Progressive Party), the party of the colonial Governor, met to plan the hiring of United States gunmen to come to Puerto Rico and assassinate the leaders of the two independence parties: Rubén Berríos-Martínez, President of PIP, and Juan Mari Brás, Secretary-General of PSP-MPI. This was revealed to the country by Representative Bennie Frankie Cerezo, a dissident legislator belonging to the same government party.

9. Last week, two hooded men fired from a moving automobile on the militant socialist Robinson Torres in the town of Santa Isabel. In the town of Caguas a band of terrorists from CIA partially destroyed automobiles belonging to various members of the independence movement in front of a ball park while the owners were attending a match in which a visiting team from Cuda was participating. There was also an attempt to set fire to the office of the Movimiento Obrero Unido (United Workers' Movement) (MOU), a body which co-ordinates the trade union activities of the most progressive unions in the country.

Thus it may be seen that violence is on the increase in Puerto Rico. If the Special Committee continues to postpone consideration of the colonial case of Puerto Rico, it will be helping to provoke a civil war in our country. The repressive activity of the colonial régime against the growing movement of the masses in favour of national independence is contributing to the likelihood of such a war.

On behalf of the independence fighters of Puerto Rico we appeal to all members of the Special Committee to fulfill their duty with respect to Puerto Rico now. If they wait, it may be too late.

#### COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

##### A. Letter dated 28 February 1972 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee

On 9 February 1972, the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations wrote to you "on the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba" to request that the Committee over which you preside "decide immediately to include the question of Puerto Rico in its agenda and to give due priority to the discussion of this question at the session now beginning". The Cuban Ambassador's letter was circulated in document A/AC.109/392.

I am instructed by my Government to write to you and to protest, in the most unequivocal terms, this Cuban act of interference in the affairs of the United States of America and of Puerto Rico. This not only constitutes an affront to the people of Puerto Rico and to the General Assembly of the United Nations, which adopted resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 but is a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Permanent Representative of Cuba, a country where political freedom and elections are unknown, and where opposition can only be voiced in exile, presumes to advise your Committee and, indeed, the United Nations as a whole, on questions of self-government and on the duties of the United Nations with respect to free peoples.

This is an insult to the people of Puerto Rico who have chosen to live in a democracy, under a Constitution of their own choosing, in free association with the United States. This choice of their form of government has been restated periodically, in free and open elections, and through referenda, between 1952 and the present time. In November 1972, the people of Puerto Rico will once again pronounce themselves through the means of a universal secret ballot, on the nature of their Government. These elections will be open to political parties of all hues, including those who oppose Puerto Rico's present Constitution and relationship with the United States.

The United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 748 (VIII), acknowledged that Puerto Rico had achieved self-government in compliance with Article 73 e of the Charter. Our Charter is the same Charter that guided the General Assembly then, and no unilateral attempt to rewrite or redefine it can be accepted by any component body of the General Assembly. Since 1953, when resolution 748 (VIII) was adopted, the practice of self-government has become a firmly rooted tradition among the people of Puerto Rico, clearly vindicating the judgement of the General Assembly. The compact under which the peoples of Puerto Rico and of the United States live harmoniously in association has been achieved in complete freedom and has repeatedly been put to the test of the electoral ballot. Accordingly, the terms of therefore, does violence to the basic principles enshrined in Article 2 of the Charter, and notably in paragraph 7 thereof.

My Government therefore strongly urges the Special Committee, under your distinguished chairmanship, to reject the request of the Permanent Representative of Cuba.

I shall appreciate it if you would have this letter circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) GEORGE BUSH.

##### B. Letter dated 18 August 1972 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee

On 28 February 1972, Ambassador Bush submitted a letter to you which reviewed the position of the United States with regard to efforts to include the question of Puerto Rico on the agenda of your Committee. The letter was circulated as official document A/AC.109/395 of 29 February 1972.

There has been no change in the United States position on this issue since that time. My Government has instructed me to reiterate our continued opposition to this Cuban act of interference in the affairs of the United States and of Puerto Rico.

I shall appreciate it if you would have this letter reconfirming our position circulated to all members as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) CHRISTOPHER H. PHILLIPS,  
Ambassador.

##### LETTER DATED 23 AUGUST 1972 FROM THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF CHILE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

I have the honour to inform you of the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Mr. Clodomiro Almeyda, on 18 August 1972, in connexion with the Special Committee's discussion of the question of Puerto Rico:

"On the occasion of the meetings being held in New York by the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, the Government of Chile wishes to express its hope that the Committee will take a decision to the effect that resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the General Assembly in 1960 at its fifteenth session, is applicable to Puerto Rico.

"This position of the Government of Chile is consistent with the one taken on the same question by the recent Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Georgetown, Guyana."

I shall be most grateful if you will have this letter circulated as an official document of the Special Committee.

(Signed) ULDARICO FIGUEROA,  
Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Chile.

Mr. SOURWINE. To make the record clear, let me ask: Do the people of Puerto Rico want to be independent of the United States? What is the record on that?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In a plebiscite on July 23, 1967, the people of Puerto Rico voted overwhelmingly to keep the status of Commonwealth with the United States. The vote was 60.06 percent in favor and 0.06 percent against. The Pro-Independence Movement boycotted the plebiscite. To be exact, the vote was as follows: 425,081 for Commonwealth, 273,315 for statehood, and 4,205 for independence.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Tarabochia, do you have any additional evidence of Cuban involvement in the Puerto Rican question at the United Nations?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. As I stated previously, the Cuban involvement has continued unabated to this day. On August 16, 1973, Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, the Cuban ambassador to the U.N., requested that Puerto Rico be considered for further discussion by the special committee and that the committee hear the leaders of the Puerto Rican liberation movement. With the composition of the committee as it was, this presented no problem. On August 23, 1973, despite strong objections from the United States, Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Ruben Berrios Martinez, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, addressed the committee. As a result, on August 30, 1973, the Commission

on Colonialism of the U.N. approved a resolution which, among other matters, includes these points:

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960;

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you offering that resolution for the record?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. It might be included by reference.

Senator THURMOND. That will be the order.

2. Requests the Government of the USA or any corporate body under its jurisdiction to refrain from any measures, economic or social which might obstruct the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination;

3. Requests the Rapporteur of the Committee of 24 to collect information to help consider the Puerto Rican question in 1974;

4. Decides to keep the Puerto Rican question "under continuous review," voted to do exactly that; to keep the Puerto Rican question under continuous review.

Mr. MARTIN. The testimony you have already given and the documentation you have submitted certainly points to the conclusion that Cuba has played a central role in getting Puerto Rico onto the active agenda of the U.N. Commission on Colonialism. I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that to amplify Mr. Tarabochia's testimony, the subcommittee request the Congressional Research Service to prepare a brief study of the Puerto Rican case before the U.N. to be printed as part of the appendix of this hearing.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so order.

[The study referred to will be found in the appendix on p. 418]

Mr. MARTIN. Your previous testimony has implied that Cuba's maneuvers on the Puerto Rican question at the U.N. constitute a single prong in a multipronged attack. Do you have other evidence relating to Cuba's involvement in the campaign to detach Puerto Rico from the United States?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to furnish the subcommittee with the details of the efforts of the Cuban Intelligence Directorate to spearhead a pincer movement against Puerto Rico's ties with the United States by using groups and individuals of proven loyalty to the Communist cause, both in the United States and in Puerto Rico. In order to do this, I should delve a little into the functions of the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence or DGI.

Senator THURMOND. Go ahead.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. At the outset it must be emphasized that, no matter what action the Cuban Intelligence undertakes, it does so with the foreknowledge if not specific approval of the Soviet advisers who, for all practical purposes, run the Cuban operation.

With an eye to the so-called détente and the lifting of the blockade of Cuba, the Communist propaganda maintains that Cuban involvement in insurrectional activities in Latin America has subsided, if it has not been totally eliminated. This may be so on the surface, but there are no indications that the Cubans have renounced their policy of subversion, and Castro has openly stated his support for what he calls Puerto Rico's ambition for independence. Actually, Castro and his regime have intensified their efforts, encouraged by the change of the political climate in the United States. Our national epidemic of attacks on counterintelligence agencies—police intelligence

units which keep an eye on active agents of subversion—has not been lost on the Soviet and Cuban leaders. Puerto Rico is a case in point, most shocking because almost all the actors are U.S. citizens who flaunt their affiliation with their Cuban mentors to all who want to hear or see it.

To return to the DGI, the Soviets, when they took effective control of the espionage and subversive operation in 1960-70, forced the removal of its head, Manuel Piñero Lozada. The reasons for his removal were many, but by and large, the principal reason was that Piñero had caught a number of Soviet advisers to the DGI conspiring to replace Fidel Castro with a party member presumably felt to be more amenable to orders from Moscow. This took place during the "Microfaction" incident in 1967-68. The embarrassment caused the Soviets was not only humiliating but costly because, as a result of this involvement, Castro demanded the removal of all Soviet advisers to the DGI.

It took an oil embargo to bring the Cubans to heel, and when this took place, Piñero lost his job and the DGI became a virtual appendage of the KGB. Let me hasten to add that it would be naive to believe that Piñero's removal as head of the DGI put an end to the plans he had previously elaborated, or that the DGI ceased to cooperate with the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party.

Castro, out of gratitude, kept Piñero in business by creating a special department called Department of Latin American Liberation. In this capacity, Piñero kept up his work of subversion in Latin America even after the Soviets went to great lengths to demonstrate that Castro had stopped exporting revolution to the countries of the hemisphere.

Mr. MARTIN. You believe that Senor Piñero's shelving was just a sham?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That Piñero's shelving was just a sham is demonstrated by a letter in Castro's own handwriting, addressed to the then President of Chile, Salvador Allende. The letter dated July 29, 1973, indicates that Piñero was traveling to Chile under false pretenses, that his real mission was to evaluate the situation and to offer expert advice on how to cope with the growing public unrest.

Mr. MARTIN. But how does the question of Puerto Rico tie in with Chile and with the role played in that country by Manuel Piñero Lozada?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In order to keep tighter control on the revolutionary process in Latin America, Fidel Castro recently decided to create a special department within the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This is known as the "Department of America," and quite predictably, Manuel Piñero Lozada was named as its head. It is the Department of America that orchestrates and directs all Cuban activities involving the question of Puerto Rico. This by no means excludes the DGI from operational control of the agents involved.

At the risk of being repetitious, I would like to call the chairman's attention to the fact that, in addition to the constant flow of Puerto Rican activists to and from Cuba and the additional fact that the Cubans maintain a so-called Puerto Rican Mission in Havana, there is



the interrelation of the agents recruited by the DCI with citizens in the continental United States. This is manifested in the support role assigned to both Puerto Rican and continental U.S. groups in the drive to pry loose Puerto Rico from its U.S. ties.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you know of any movements in the continental United States that are engaged in supporting Cuba's efforts in the United Nations?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. As I stated previously, the Cubans have left nothing to chance. They know from the days of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee that there is a vast array of American organizations and individuals always ready to endorse and support any cause promoting Cuban objectives. Consequently, it was with relative ease that, when the word came, not only individual and organizational support was provided, but a new committee, specifically tailored for the purpose, was created. It was called the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization. The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization has spawned another organization better equipped to fulfill the purposes of its creation. I am referring to the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee which was created at a conference which took place at the Newark, N.J., campus of Rutgers University on March 1-2, 1975. This was less than a month before the Havana Preparatory Conference which took place March 30-31.

The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization was formed in the middle of 1973 to obtain "North American support for the decolonization struggle." There is good reason to believe that the founders of the committee expected to expand the base of influence created by the Cubans in the U.N. Committee for Decolonization by presenting a front of support for the independence cause made up almost exclusively of Americans; that is, allegedly independent of Puerto Rican ties. Soon after the committee was formed, it began publishing a bulletin, "Puerto Rico Libre." The first issue appeared in August 1973. Copies were mailed to every Senator and possibly to other Members of Congress.

With typical Communist brazenness, it claimed to be an "unaffiliated organization supporting the independence of Puerto Rico." The fact that convicted terrorist Carlos Feliciano and Alfredo Lopez—a member of the PSP Politburo in the United States—appear listed as members of the board of directors; is still another indication of how semantics are used by the Marxists to confuse the issue when the need for the creation of a particular front organization arises.

Other members of the board of directors of Puerto Rico Libre were identified as:

Ernest Chanes, a member of the Executive Committee of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. In 1958, the House Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as a Communist front.

Mary Kochiyama, a sponsor of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. This is an organization that was cited as a Communist front in 1948 by the Attorney General of the United States.

Michael Locker, a founder of what later became the Radical Education Project, of SDS.

Ruth Reynolds, onetime executive secretary of the American League for Puerto Rican Independence in 1944. In 1950, she had been

arrested for advocating the overthrow of the Government by force, convicted, and sentenced to 6 years in prison. She was released on bail after 2 years.

Michael Standard, active in both the National Lawyers Guild—cited in 1951 by HUAC as a Communist front—and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, previously mentioned.

With such leadership, it was small wonder when a group of the committee undertook to lobby for Puerto Rican independence by making personal visits to every member of the U.N. Committee. In addition, according to the committee's claims, a letter campaign which reached 30,000, was undertaken for the same purpose, the addressees being the members of the U.N. Committee. These efforts were supported by active demonstrations in front of the U.N. building on August 13-15, 1973, timed to coincide with the anticipated discussion of the Puerto Rican case by the Decolonization Committee.

Mr. MARTIN. Where was the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization based?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The committee was based in New York and gave as its address: Box 1240, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York 10009.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to offer for the record, at this point, a copy of the January 1975 "Puerto Rico Libre." This copy was addressed to Senator James O. Eastland, Capitol, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be accepted for the appendix.

[The material referred to will be found on page 436 of the appendix.]

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Tarabochia, you have spoken of "front organizations." Has the U.S. Communist Party been directly involved in this campaign for Puerto Rican independence?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The Communist Party has been active in this field since the early 1930's. This is evident from the statement of the National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, Henry Winston, in which he proclaims that the "bonds of solidarity between Communists and all independence forces of Puerto Rico with our Communist Party \* \* \* can bring an end to U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico." Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record, an article by Henry Winston, published in the September 20, 1970, issue of Daily World, the official organ of the CPUSA.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be received and made part of the record.

[The material referred to follows:]

[From the Daily World, Sept. 20, 1970]

#### INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

(By Henry Winston, National Chairman, Communist Party of the United States)

During this period of major struggles in all parts of the world for national liberation from imperialist oppression, we make a special pledge of full support to the heroic people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for independence from U.S. imperialism.

The Puerto Ricans' struggle for independence, freedom and the right to determine their own destiny encompasses the centuries, and when Spanish rule was crumbling in 1898, United States imperialist rule was imposed with guns and rough-riding brutality which shocked the world, but the spirit and heroic struggle for freedom and independence could not be crushed. That struggle reasserted itself in many forms and fills many chapters of unwritten history.

That struggle gained new strength with the founding of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico on September 23, 1934. That is also the anniversary date of the glorious Grito de Lares of September 23, 1868. We greet the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party in the spirit of strengthening the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

The bonds of solidarity between Communists and all independence forces of Puerto Rico with our Communist Party and the progressive working class and anti-imperialist forces of the United States can bring an end to U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico. These forces today include one-and-a-half million Puerto Ricans in the mainland of the U.S., a tremendous and valiant addition to our working class and to the anti-imperialist struggle. They too suffer the ravages of discrimination and poverty.

An end to U.S. military rule by guns and bombers will mean an end to poverty, oppression, degradation and racism; it will mean the right of Puerto Ricans to develop their economy resources and culture. And Puerto Rico will no longer be a fortress for U.S. oppression but a beautiful and bountiful bulwark for peace and social progress and for socialism in this new world.

Mr. MARTIN. If I am not mistaken there was a rally in New York City last October in support of PSP's claims. Is this the event to which you were referring a while ago?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes; and again I find it relevant because of the narrow spectrum of ideological representation which contrasts with the number of the groups present. In other words, the political orientation of the several groups urging Puerto Rican independence was predominantly Marxist-Leninist, even though thinly veiled as something else.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any doubt in your mind that Puerto Rican independence, as espoused by these groups, is a cover, camouflage, or prelude for the goal of Communist revolution?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I don't think there can be any doubt about this. For example, on July 25, 1975, during a rally labeled as "A People's Salute to Cuba," which took place at the Manhattan Center in New York, Florencio Merced of the PSP Politburo said, I quote:

How many of those who today praise and celebrate the Cuban revolution once thought that the process unleashed by the attack on the Moncada garrison was merely an adventure carried out by a small band of youths who represented no one and who had no massive base of support? How many of those who will tomorrow celebrate and applaud the Puerto Rican revolution have those same thoughts about the revolutionary process underway in Puerto Rico today?

To give you another example, Grace Mora, chairwoman of the Puerto Rican Commission of the Communist Party U.S.A. and CPUSA central committee member, in introducing the party's program on Puerto Rico at the party's 21st National Convention, stated that, "the CPUSA has consistently supported the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence."

Even when taken in the context of Communist semantics, these are revealing statements.

Mr. MARTIN. You were talking about the rally in support of Puerto Rican independence in New York in October 1974. Do you have any more to say on this point?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The event, which took place on October 27, 1974, at Madison Square Garden in New York City, was unique because it created an umbrella organization under the aegis of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, with Alfredo Lopez as chief coordinator. This umbrella organization claimed to be the first U.S. national organization to take up support for the cause of Puerto Rican independence as its primary purpose. Most members of the

groups represented had, at one time or another, visited Cuba and espoused the cause of the Cuban revolution. This event was, for all practical purposes, the first tactical movement of the pincer strategy carried out in the U.S. There is no doubt in my mind from the rhetoric used at this event, that at least the ideological, if not also, the strategic, headquarters of the operation was in Havana.

The meeting and the foundation of the umbrella organization must be regarded as part of an orchestrated plan involving activities in Havana, in Puerto Rico, in the United Nations, and other activities in the U.S. mainland. For example, the previous night, October 26, 1974, five bombs exploded minutes apart in midtown and lower Manhattan. Last April 1, as soon as I became aware that the preparatory meeting had taken place in Havana, I called the New York Police Department's Arson and Explosives Unit to warn them to expect some terrorist bombings in the very near future. I did not realize then that my warning about the very near future would be so literal because the very next morning four bombs went off in Manhattan.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you recall what groups were involved in the October 27 rally?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Of course. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party was the most prominent organization. It had overall control over the event and its General Secretary, Juan Mari Bras, was the principal speaker.

Then the Communist Party, U.S.A. through Arnold Johnson, its public relations director, in a statement released on September 10, 1974, on behalf of the Political Committee, called for: "A mass struggle for recognition of Puerto Rico as a free and independent nation—which would be the most significant event in celebration of our Bicentennial."

Mr. Chairman, I have a copy of this statement which appeared in the September 11, 1974 issue of the Daily World. May I offer it for the record?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection it will be received.

[The material referred to follows:]

[From the Daily World, Sept. 11, 1974]

#### PUERTO RICAN RALLY BACKED BY CPUSA

New York, Sept. 10—Calling for overflow attendance at Madison Square Garden on October 27 in support of the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., today issued the following statement on behalf of the Political Committee:

"The National Demonstration at Madison Square Garden on Sunday October 27 in support of the struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico must be made into a major success.

"This united front demonstration will declare the support of the people of the United States for the historic December, 1973 United Nations' Resolution, recognizing the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence.

"The demonstration also demands that our celebrations of the 200th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the 13 colonies, and the birth of the United States in 1776, be expressed by ending U.S. imperialist domination over Puerto Rico.

"This calls for a mass struggle for recognition of Puerto Rico as a free and independent nation—which would be the most significant event in celebration of our Bicentennial.

"The new major factor in this struggle is the United Nations' resolution, which reflected worldwide support for Puerto Rican independence.

"The resolution was introduced by the Cuban delegation, with the active support of the other socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union.

"The resolution indicates today's reality on the world scene and puts the struggle for Puerto Rican independence on a level of mass struggle.

"This is our approach to the Madison Square Garden demonstration and the reason for our concern that every seat there is occupied.

The statement adds:

"The struggle for Puerto Rican independence raises the need for a massive united front movement in the United States.

"All working class and mass democratic organizations should seek implementation of the United Nations resolution for Puerto Rican independence while celebrating the Bicentennial of our Declaration of Independence."

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The Communist Party was represented at the rally by Angela Davis, a heroine in the eyes of the Cubans, who also addressed the rally. Not surprisingly, there were boos when Angela Davis began her address.

Mr. MARTIN. Why do you say you were not surprised that Angela Davis was booed?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The reason I said it is because I am very much aware of the low esteem in which the Communist Party U.S.A., is held by many of the groups in attendance at that rally. Ideologically, they are closer to the Maoists and the Marxist terrorists than they are to the CPUSA. In addition, the Moscow line of detente was in force because the Soviets needed every pretense at peaceful coexistence they could muster in view of several forthcoming important events, especially the Helsinki Conference. Such tactics are not popular with the more activist elements of the PSP-dominated groups attending the rally, especially when one takes into consideration the very close ties existing between the PSP and the Weather Underground or its burgeoning outgrowth and propaganda front, the Prairie Fire-Osawatomie Tribe. In addition, the Socialist Workers Party and its youth affiliate YSL; the American Indian Movement represented by Clyde Bellecourt and Russell Means; and Cora Weiss, of the Womens' Strike for Peace, were part of the event which featured several speakers.

A parallel event took place in Los Angeles, but the attendance was insignificant. Similar events took place in Seattle, Wash. and in Oakland, Calif. These are centers with strong Venceremos Brigade representations.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any evidence that the Venceremos Brigade has played a role in Havana's drive to wrest Puerto Rico from its U.S. ties?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I venture to say that the Venceremos Brigade, secondary to the PSP, is the most important element in the offensive. As an instrument of the Cuban DGI, it has a high penetration potential and a well-trained cadre for ready deployment whenever the need arises. The presence of several elite members of the brigade in the ranks of both the PSP and its client organizations leaves no doubt that the DGI has already attained a substantial part of its objectives.

Mr. SORWINE. Exactly what do you mean when you say Venceremos Brigade?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Actually it has two meanings. Used as referring to a particular group of individuals who went from this country to Cuba, and there received one of several different degrees of indoctrination. There were eight Venceremos Brigades up to May of this year, for there were that many separate groups. The term also refers to a

functioning organization in the United States made up of former members of one or more of the eight earlier brigades, but not all of them. This Venceremos Brigade does Castro's bidding today—which means, in actuality, it is controlled by the KGB through the DGI. We know the names of all the members of the Traveling Brigades, but do not have any roster of members of the currently functioning action organization.

Mr. MARTIN. What specific evidence is there that the Venceremos Brigade has figured actively in Castro's Puerto Rican campaign? Are there specific members to whom you refer?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The members of the brigade first began appearing as leaders of the U.S.-based section of the PSP but it was the October 27 rally and the formation of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee that brought them to the forefront. I am speaking of the visible ones, because there are others who, I have good reason to believe, have very close ties with the DGI and have not surfaced yet.

The visible ones are vanguard workers, seasoned cadres, skilled organizers, trusted by the Cubans and with ready access to them. They command key positions. For instance, Rosa Borenstein, already on the Central Staff of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Bay Committee, saw to it that the newly formed PRSC followed the proper directives. She steered the Convening Committee in adopting a line of action similar to that espoused by Havana. I will address myself to your question in just a moment because in order to put this matter in the proper perspective, I believe it would be more to the point to delve into the formation of PRSC or Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee.

The PRSC was founded at a working conference, conducted in a quasi-academic atmosphere, and was the outgrowth of the intentionally loose network of committees and individuals involved in organizing the rally. The conference took place at the Newark, N.J. campus of Rutgers University. There were about 100 delegates, of whom a fifth were Puerto Ricans while the rest were the usual, well-known left-wing activists of the sort present in most anti-American causes over the past decade. Contrary to the general belief, the conference, because of its composition, was anything but monolithic. There were two principal ideological factions in conflict there. One was the PSP; the other was the Communist Party U.S.A. Again the PSP assumed a leadership role: First, because of its well-publicized close relationship with Cuba's Politburo; and, second, because of its clever propaganda technique which makes it appear larger than it really is. These two factors played a primary role in the efforts of the PSP to arrogate to itself the leadership of the committee.

Mr. MARTIN. How did the PSP manage to do this?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I could attribute it to the charisma of being held so close to the bosom of the Cuban Politburo. On a more serious vein though, the PSP has matured politically, through its close ties with Cuba. Because of these ties, the PRSC was created for the express purpose of serving the Cubans' interests. In the case of the committee itself, two objectives were of immediate and primary importance. The first was the need for a so-called independent, U.S.-based umbrella organization to take over the task first assigned to the moribund

Puerto Rican Decolonization Committee. Its formation, according to the organizers, represents "people from just about every area of the country, every tendency of political thinking, and every sector of the population." To this broad and highly inaccurate statement, they hasten to add that, "the representation is not merely reflective. This is representation in quality, life experience \* \* \* these are leaders of wide sectors of the population, leaders in the real anti-imperialist movement." The second objective was of an even more immediate nature than the first, and had to do with the selection of candidates for the preparatory meeting of the conference, which took place March 30-31 of this year in Havana, in response to an initiative by the World Peace Council, a Communist-front organization based in Helsinki. These delegates, as chosen by the committee, would be the only ones to whom the Cubans would grant visas to attend the preliminary conference. As it turned out, the PRSC was represented by Frances Beal of the Third World Women's Alliance and Arthur Kinoy of the National Lawyers Guild, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and more recently of the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People. There were ideological differences, and the U.S. delegates found themselves split into two groups. One group took the PSP-Cuban position. The other group was formed by three leading figures of the CPUSA, members of the American Committee of the World Peace Council. They were identified as Anthony Monteiro, Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation; Helen Winter of the U.S. Committee of the World Peace Council; and Roque Risticci, Executive Secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth branch of the Communist Party U.S.A.

Mr. MARTIN. Briefly, what was the nature of the ideological differences which surfaced during the preparatory meeting?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The three members of the Communist Party U.S.A. adhered to the views of the Soviet bloc countries, who view the problem of Puerto Rican independence within the context of détente. This, of course, stemmed from the need of the Soviet Union to maintain a low profile vis-a-vis the struggles of national liberation, in view of the forthcoming Helsinki conference. I mentioned this earlier with regard to the boogie of Angela Davis by the participants in the October 27, 1974, rally.

Mr. Chairman, I have in my possession a copy of the speech delivered at the Havana preparatory meeting, by Anthony Monteiro. It appeared in the May 3, 1975 issue of the World Magazine, a supplement of the CPUSA mouthpiece, Daily World. I would like to offer it for the record, along with a translation of certain excerpts of the remarks made by Juan Marinello Vidaurreta, chairman of the meeting and president of the forthcoming conference in September; and excerpts of a message by the World Peace Council which appeared in the same issue of the magazine. In addition, I have a number of transcripts of radio broadcasts by Havana Radio regarding the preparatory meeting, which I would like to offer for the record.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, they will be received for the Appendix.

[The item referred to will be found at p. 438.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The groups forming the PRSC espouse a more radical view with regard to the means of achieving independence. The Communist Party U.S.A. has characterized them as Maoist. They advocate revolution as the only means of achieving independence. Two groups attending the PRSC founding conference in Newark, the October League and the Congress of African People, decided to boycott the subsequent Havana conference on the grounds that it was a Moscow-initiated affair. Actually, at the Havana conference, the PRSC membership was quite unhappy with what they called the passive attitude of the World Peace Council. A major point of dissent was the inclusion of the political definition of détente in the declaration calling for the September conference in Havana. The words, "a world in which the forces of peace, freedom, and socialism are imposing an international détente" were unacceptable to the PRSC faction which issued a separate statement with emphasis on "the growth and continuing victories recorded by national liberation movements since the end of World War II."

In Marxist jargon, this means revolutionary war, with its inseparable corollary: terrorism. This I find consistent with the PSP line, which defends and even advocates terrorism as a necessary means of reaching its objective—the elimination of U.S. presence from the Commonwealth for the purpose of imposing a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship of the proletariat in Puerto Rico.

Mr. MARTIN. Have the ideological objectives of the PSP been set forth in any publication?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The PRSC has a publication called Puerto Rico Libre which came into existence long before the committee itself was founded. It was first published in 1973 as a bulletin of the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization which I mentioned earlier. The reason I am returning to this matter is that it is this publication that furnishes the best proof of how deeply the Venceremos Brigade is involved in this matter. Mr. Chairman, I don't think I would be exaggerating if I stated that the close ties of the PSP, the Venceremos Brigade, and the DGI serve to create a political bridgehead of the Cuban Politburo in United States proper. This is not surprising because as far back as 1967, Juan Mari Bras had predicted this would happen. What is interesting, of course, are the mechanics, or to be more exact, the tactics employed to bring about the "objective conditions," to use a favorite term of the Communists, both in Puerto Rico and the United States. Again it would be an oversimplification to try to give a chronological overview of the progress achieved by the PSP and its DGI directors. Their campaign has been unfolding since 1969, and it is now moving at an accelerated pace on several fronts—aided by new alliances. Mr. Martinez has very ably summarized some of its facets, but I believe it is imperative to explore a special facet of this carefully orchestrated campaign, and that is the Venceremos Brigade.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there any connection between the Venceremos Brigade and the PRSC?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. To begin with, a glance at the names of PRSC's national staff should suffice to answer that question. What is more significant, in addition to the fact that more than 40 percent of the staff is made up of veterans of the eight brigades, is the fact that these are top organizers who have spent considerable lengths of time in Cuba.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, as you know, the subcommittee in its annual report for 1974, included a brief summary on its investigative activities regarding the Venceremos Brigade. It was Mr. Tarabochia who has been spearheading this investigation. If it is agreeable to the Chair, I would like to suggest that the section on the Venceremos Brigade in the 1974 Annual Report of the Subcommittee be incorporated into the appendix of this record, in order to put Mr. Tarabochia's present testimony in proper perspective.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to will be found at p. 446 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, Puerto Rico Libre, the official mouthpiece of the PRSC, lists as its national staff, the following individuals: Maggie Block, Rosa Borenstein, David Burd, Bill Henning, Sally Hamann, Lally Lopez, Liz Mestres, and Vicki Wheeler. In addition, Julie Nichamin, Ted Glick, Roger Geller, Frank Christopher, and Dana Biberman are listed as members of the PRSC. Of these, Margaret Phyllis Block was a member of the second Venceremos Brigade which was in Cuba for 6 weeks, from mid-February 1970 to mid-April 1970; Borenstein was a member of the First Brigade which traveled to Cuba from December 1969 to February 1970. In addition, Rosa Borenstein made another trip to Cuba in July of 1971 where she visited the Cuban Institute of Friendship With Peoples (ICAP), a notorious cover for the DGI. There she met with an ICAP operative who had worked on the Cuban contingent of the First and Second Brigades.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name of that ICAP official?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir. His name is Jose Antonio Pedroso. There was an exchange of information about activities of brigade veterans in the United States and Rosa Borenstein gave Pedroso details about members in the Northeastern United States.

Mr. MARTIN. Are there any other members of the currently operating Venceremos Brigade?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes. Sally Hamann, whose real name is Sarah Elizabeth Hamann, was a member of the Sixth Venceremos Brigade which traveled to Cuba in the summer of 1973. Dana Hope Biberman, an old National Lawyers Guild activist, was a member of the Eighth Venceremos Brigade contingent which returned from Cuba in May of this year. What is even more interesting is that Dana Biberman and Arthur Kinoy were members of the NLG's Asia Military Project Committee. Members of this committee established operating bases in the Philippines, Okinawa, and Japan where they actively engaged in attempts to foment sedition among U.S. military personnel stationed aboard vessels or bases in the Southeast Asia area.

Then there is Julie Nichamin. This is the same Julie Nichamin mentioned in the annual report of the subcommittee as being the author of a letter instructing Weatherman leaders to contact a DGI officer operating from the Cuban mission at the United Nations for information about the formation of brigades. Nichamin was in Cuba at the time and the letter, dated January 26—1969—from Havana, was addressed to Bernardine Dohrn. It dealt with selection of members for the brigades.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, this letter appears on page 298 of the series of hearings entitled, "Extent of Subversion in the 'New Left'", part 4. May I respectfully suggest that, because of its importance, this letter be made part of this hearing record, at this point.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record, for ready availability to readers of this hearing record. [The material referred to follows:]



[26 January, Havana.]

my notes on how people should be selected for the brigade

From the point of view of the Cubans, and the Movement people who first developed the idea of the brigade, one of the most important aspects of the project was the contribution it could make in pulling SDS together organizationally and politically. We have come up with some ideas about the selection process for members of the brigade that we think could help develop ideas about collective responsibility and discipline. We've gotten the ideas from talks with party people & down here about the selection procedure of Cuban party members.

1. There should be an initial program in which the brigade is described. This should obviously include a discussion of the 10 million tons and what they mean from an historical point of view, from the point of view of economic development, in order to build a better understanding of what the Cuban revolution is all about. Then the qualifications for members of the brigade should be discussed (this amounts to a definition of our criteria for choosing members). We think it is important to stress the need for people who are self-disciplined and responsible, and who have a fairly high degree of commitment and involvement in the Movement. This is especially important to the Cubans, who are looking very much toward the future contribution these 150 people can make to the Movement.
2. After there is a pretty good understanding in the chapters about what the brigade is all about, they can hold nominating sessions, in which chapter members suggest people whom they feel meet the necessary qualifications to be a brigade member. Again, we believe that this procedure for suggesting names can begin to develop, in concrete terms, a sense of collective discipline and responsibility. This is because the idea is introduced in a meaningful context, where people understand the specific need for selecting people for political roles in a particular manner.
3. Next comes the crucial stage: sessions in which the qualifications of the people nominated are publicly discussed, sessions of criticism and self-criticism, sessions where people's work and personalities are discussed in political terms. The Cubans have told us that these meetings are tremendously important in the selection process for the party here, that frequently it is the only time in which people's work and attitudes are evaluated publicly, and finally, that the sessions are very educational and very traumatic. We believe that although sessions like these often take place among small groups of people in the Movement who are close friends and work closely together, that nothing of this sort exists among the majority of the people. Hopefully, the understanding of such evaluations and their value politically can be generalized.
4. The next stage, in which people are selected from the list of names of nominees, we feel, will be the most difficult. There has to be a group, a national council or committee, which will have the responsibility of carrying out the final selection process. Autobiographical material should be solicited from each nominee. People should be interviewed to get information about the nominee's political work, about his relationships with the people he works with, etc. And then that group, with the power which has been given to it, and according to criteria which have been developed and are publicly known, and in accordance with distribution quotas (perhaps defined regionally and according to population density), the final choice can be made.

We feel that the main problem here might be the notion of a hierarchy of decision-making: that a small group will have the final determination about the composition of the brigade. We aren't too clear ~~about~~ yet about how the national committee should be formed; we do feel very strongly that it should include people who are willing to make themselves completely responsible for the tasks that will be assigned to them, and that they should have a good understanding of the nature of the Cuban revolution as well as a good understanding of the Movement. The point is that once the criteria for membership has been determined and the national ~~may~~ committee formed, there can be no ~~for~~ disputes as to the authority of that committee to make decisions (obviously, we mean here, only in the areas for which they have been mandated).

In brigade via,  
Julie Nichamin

Brian Murphy

Julie Nichamin  
Brian Murphy

P.S. X (Julie) will be down here at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The DGI officer involved, and identified by Nichamin as "Jimenez", is Jesus Jimenez Escobar who was expelled shortly afterwards, on February 19, 1969, for espionage activities against the United States. As stated in the subcommittee's annual report, the DGI Center in New York, which operates as part of the Cuban U.N. mission, has been and still is active in the operations of the brigade, particularly when it comes to entry visas, preliminary clearances and background investigations. At present, there are 25 individuals operating at the Mission, including Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada. Of the 25, only one is a woman and she does not hold a clerical position. Information obtained from former members of the DGI indicates that the entire mission operates as an adjunct of the General Directorate of Intelligence.

Mr. MARTIN. Do you mean to say that all of the mission's personnel are DGI officers? Wouldn't this be unusual, even by Communist standards?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That is a very interesting question and I believe it needs to be answered in depth. First of all, most Americans have a gentleman's legalistic outlook when it comes to matters of membership in an organization. They expect a clear definition of rules, classification, identification, et cetera. Because of our innate belief in the democratic principles of a free society we have a great degree of difficulty in distinguishing the difference between our system and that of a totalitarian country. It is in the totalitarian system that professional fields are invaded, objections overruled, personal feelings abused, and individuals are either cajoled or forced into, perhaps even made to appear voluntarily cooperative in a field that they might personally or professionally detest is given the choice. The fact of the matter is that in a diplomatic post such as the Cuban Mission at the U.N., those who are not actually DGI officers nevertheless work, either directly or indirectly, in support of the DGI Center within the Mission. They may feel dutybound to do so because of party allegiance. They may simply be opportunists who bow easily to pressures. They may be forced to cooperate because of blackmail. The reason for their cooperation is immaterial. The fact is that even the Cuban Ambassador to the U.N. is involved to a degree, because it is inconceivable that he is not aware of the activities of the personnel under

him. A DGI center has certain physical attributes that cannot escape the scrutiny of even the most gullible person—and Ambassador Alarcon is anything but gullible. By that I mean that there are safe-rooms, communication equipment and other space accessible to a very limited number of individuals whose duties, despite their cover, have nothing to do with the everyday, bona fide functions of their diplomatic title. This has happened time and again. To date, more than a dozen Cuban intelligence agents, masquerading as diplomats, have either been expelled from the United States or denied reentry.

To return to your question, no not all of the personnel at the mission is composed of DGI officers, but for the reasons I have just given, they might just as well be. To illustrate the point better, let me add that whenever, in the course of a debriefing of a former DGI officer, I asked who was working for the DGI at their station, I invariably got an answer that amounted to this: It is not who, but to what degree.

Mr. MARTIN. To turn back for a moment from the DGI to the Venceremos Brigade—what motivates young people who join its brigade? What motivates girls like Julie Nichamin, for example?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Julie Nichamin is a good example to pick. We reproduced a letter she wrote from Havana in our previous hearing. It appeared on page 300 of part 4 of our hearings on "Extent of Subversion in the 'New Left.'" I think it would be helpful, Mr. Chairman, in answering the question if the text of this letter could be printed in the appendix.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The text of letter will be found at p. 450 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Julie Nichamin has been even more active than this letter indicates. She was arrested in Chicago, Ill. on October 11, 1969, for mob action and disorderly conduct, sentenced to two days in the county jail and fined \$870. This was during the "days of rage" when the Weatherman trashed the Loop in Chicago. This was in response to the urgings of the Viet Cong and Cubans to bring the war home. The Weatherman leadership had traveled to Havana in July of 1969 to meet with the Vietnamese under the auspices of the Cuban DGI. Nichamin's statements and speeches against the United States are probably the most strident of the many anti-American harangues delivered by brigade members. These statements, I believe, demonstrate their total subservience to their Cuban mentors. In one of these diatribes, she said—I quote—" \* \* \* we know that we will leave here with a new dedication to destroy the imperialist monster from within just as the rest of the peoples are destroying imperialism from without."

According to the PRSC's "Puerto Rico Libre" of March 15, 1975, Julie Nichamin and five other members of PRSC visited Puerto Rico during the previous month of January. It goes without saying that the Cuban interests were well served during this trip, since one-third of the group was composed of trusted DGI contacts, if not operatives. By that I mean Julie Nichamin and Rosa Borenstein. Their reports were predictable and for this reason, I would like to offer this copy of Puerto Rico Libre for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. May it be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will go in the appendix. [The material will be found at p. 453 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, before I proceed I would like to call your attention to a very significant item in the exhibit I have just offered. It is in reference to an article appearing on page 4 entitled, "Stop 'Springboard.'" "Springboard" is an annual joint exercise conducted in the Caribbean by the U.S. Navy and navies of our NATO and Latin American allies. The article is as self-explanatory as it is misleading. While it purports to favor the independence of Puerto Rico, it has as its real objective the cancellation of the naval exercise. This it seeks to do by promoting the paralysis, through sedition and subversion, of the U.S. military force now maintaining the balance of power against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you see any connection between this effort to subvert our U.S. servicemen in order to force the cancellation of "Operation Springboard" and the increasing presence of the Soviet Navy in the Caribbean?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I would go as far as saying that, somehow, the efforts to use Puerto Rico and the presence of the U.S. military on the Island—which, parenthetically, despite PSP and Cuban claims, has been progressively and drastically reduced—respond to interests far beyond those claimed by the Puerto Rican Communists. The orchestration is too complex and the real objectives are too far ranging to be considered at face value. The forces that have been brought to play indicate that if the traditional U.S. presence in the Caribbean can be curtailed or eliminated through political pressure or sabotage, through subversion of the military, then the ensuing vacuum could be filled by Soviet forces based in Cuba. Operation "OKEAN '75" of the Soviet Navy is a very clear indication of what is to be expected. Incidentally, I have obtained some documents which indicate that there have been active cells operating in the proximity of or within naval and military bases from Norfolk, Va., to Charleston, S.C., to Puerto Rico. There is evidence that the so-called "GI Movement" leadership intensified its involvement in the Puerto Rican agitation on December 15, 1974—only a fortnight after the Puerto Rican Solidarity Rally in New York. In an internal document, distributed to the membership, they stated that:

The struggle in Puerto Rico is building very rapidly and will be placing greater and greater demands on the U.S. revolutionary movement for support. We feel that the willingness and ability of the North American left to respond to this challenge will have a tremendous effect on the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S., either advancing it or retarding it for years to come.

A similar article, prepared by the same "cadre," appeared in the January 1, 1975, issue of "Grapes of Wrath," the mouthpiece of the Defense Committee in the Tidewater and Charleston area. I would like to offer it for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARTIN. May the copy of the article be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will go in the appendix. [The article appears beginning on p. 461 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I would like to point out that the article clearly indicates that there is a direct link between the so-called "Defense Committee" and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, through Jose

Navarro. As a matter of fact, Jose Navarro, according to the April 15, 1973, issue of the PSP's mouthpiece, "Claridad," is a member of the Secretariat of the U.S. branch of the PSP and holds the office of secretary for political education. According to internal publications of the Defense Committee, their Puerto Rican campaign dates back to 1973, but it had to be postponed because the leadership was forced to shift its attention to a more pressing matter.

Mr. MARTIN. You are still referring to the activities of the Defense Committee?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, and I would like to mention very briefly, and this for the sake of an overview of the scope of its activities, that the reason the Puerto Rican campaign was shelved temporarily was because of the outbreak of the "Yom Kippur War" in the Middle East. As if on cue, the cadre of the defense committee went into high gear to produce an 8-page pamphlet and a one-page leaflet for the purpose of creating discord among the crews of U.S. ships deployed in Middle Eastern waters. To quote the document, "We were able to put the Middle East pamphlet on a majority of the ships on 'holding status' off the coast of Israel this past month, including all three aircraft carriers."

Mr. MARTIN. What is the source of this information?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The GI Project Alliance (GIPA) News and Discussion Bulletin. This is an internal publication which contains reports and plans of a variety of groups of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary persuasion operating on the fringes of military bases, and whose purpose is to subvert and weaken the Armed Forces of the United States by seditious acts.

Mr. MARTIN. You have spoken about a kind of triangular relationship between the PSP, the Venceremos Brigade, and the DGI. Could you give us some additional details on this triangular relationship?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Let me start with the Venceremos Brigade side of the triangle—but let me add, since we are talking about geometry, that I consider the PSP-DGI-Venceremos Brigade relationship more of a circle than a triangle because it is sometimes difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins.

One of the most significant episodes that tend to reinforce this concept is a trip to Cuba of a very select number of Venceremos Brigade veterans.

Mr. MARTIN. When did this trip take place?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In December of 1971, the group returned to the United States via Canada. They used the same method used by most radicals who travel to Cuba from the United States: They went to Mexico City and from there to Havana aboard a Cuban airline. The return trip was made aboard a Cuban freighter, the *Camaguey*, which arrived at Saint John, New Brunswick, on January 21, 1972. Twenty-seven U.S. citizens landed and entered the United States at Calais, Maine, on the same day. I have the ship's passenger manifest with the names of the individuals which I would like to offer for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to follows:]

# MANIFIESTO DE PASAJEROS

NO. PASAJERO	NOMBRE	EDAD	SEXO	PAIS DE ORIGEN	PAIS DE DESTINO	CLASE	FECHA DE VIAJE	FECHA DE REGRESO	OTROS DATOS
1	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
2	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
3	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
4	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
5	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
6	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
7	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
8	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
9	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
10	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
11	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
12	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
13	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
14	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
15	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
16	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
17	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
18	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
19	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
20	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
21	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
22	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
23	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
24	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
25	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
26	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
27	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
28	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
29	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	
30	JOSE NAVARRO	35	M	CUBA	ESTADOS UNIDOS	1	15/04/73	15/04/73	

Mr. MARTIN. Was there anything you considered especially significant about this particular group?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Ostensibly they went to Cuba for the purpose of briefings on the recruitment of the 5th Brigade. What actually transpired was something else. To begin with, the group was met at the airport by a key officer of the DGI. This particular officer is reported to be an expert on U.S. congressional affairs and had been associated with at least three brigades.

Mr. MARTIN. Has this officer been identified?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, and, as a matter of fact, she is still very active, at least she was active as of last May. Her name is Alina Alayo Amaro, known in the Political Economic Division of the DGI with the code name of "Adelfa." She is attached to the U. S. section and more specifically, to the U.S. Government Bureau which gathers information and attempts to penetrate branches of the U.S. Government. This section has a desk handling U.S. political parties and the "Venceremos Brigade." One of the running aims of this desk is to recruit someone close to an elected official in as many instances as possible. "Adelfa" is a trusted collaborator of both the head of the Division, Ramon Oroza Naveran, code-named "Demetrio," and Manuel Piñero, former DGI Chief in Cuba. Alina Alayo seems to be well-suited for her work, and perhaps her proficiency can be measured by this photograph taken last May in Cuba. In this photograph, "Adelfa" is near Fidel Castro, and by Communist standards, this is an indication of a substantial degree of influence. At this point I would like to offer this photograph for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. May this photograph be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.  
[The photograph referred to follows:]



Mr. MARTIN. What is the source of your information about Alina Alayo whose code name you say is "Adelfa"? Has the subcommittee taken any testimony about "Adelfa" in previous hearings?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. The subcommittee, so far, hasn't taken any testimony about "Adelfa." The information I have presented was given to me by two completely independent sources. One of these is a veteran of the Venceremos Brigade, who had very close contacts with "Adelfa" while he was in Cuba. The second one is a former member of the Cuban DGI who defected to this country and who had official contacts with "Adelfa" inside the DGI.

Mr. MARTIN. You were able to interview both of these subjects in some depth on the question of "Adelfa"?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, I have.

Mr. MARTIN. Did you find that the stories they respectively told you about "Adelfa" were, in general, in agreement?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Well, it has to be taken into consideration that they knew her at different times and under different circumstances. One subject was familiar with certain aspects of her personality, particularly her character and her private life, while the other was familiar with her activities at the DGI headquarters. While the first source had reason to suspect her covert activities, the second source was certain about them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since this evidence has not—at least, not as yet—been given to the subcommittee in the form of sworn testimony, there is a question I should like to ask, bearing on the credibility of your informants. You already have said you spoke to both informants at considerable length. From your extensive experience with Cuban defectors, your knowledge of the situation in Cuba, and your expansive investigations of the Venceremos Brigade, do you have any reason to doubt the credibility of either of the sources you have mentioned?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. On the contrary, I consider my sources to be completely reliable. The information they gave me was in complete harmony with all of the information I have received over the past 5 years from many sources—including witnesses before the subcommittee, informants, and official documents I have read.

Senator THURMOND. You may proceed.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, I have two other photographs of "Adelfa", one taken in the spring of 1970, and the other the following year. Before I offer them for the record, I would like to add that the first one was taken during the visit of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, which "worked" in Cuba from February to April 1970. The two males in the photograph where "Adelfa" appears on the extreme right, were reported to be DGI officers attached to the Cuban leadership group of the brigade. The individual on the left met the brigade on the *Luis Arcos Bergnes*, the ship that took the group to Cuba and remained with it throughout its stay in Cuba. The second photograph was taken sometime in April of 1971, at the time the fourth contingent was visiting Cuba. In this photograph, Alina Alayo is the second from the right with a cigarette in her mouth, her hand half raised in the "peace" sign. The female on her left was identified as a teacher in the DGI training center, while the man immediately behind her was also identified as a DGI officer. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I offer these two photographs for the record?

Mr. MARTIN, May these photographs be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?  
 Senator THURMOND, Without objection, so ordered.  
 [The photographs referred to follow:]



Mr. MARTIN, So far we have been dealing with "Adelfa" and the Venceremos Brigade. Since you said some time back that the DGI, the Venceremos Brigade, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party constituted a triangle—or a circle—I take it for granted that you will shortly be coming around to the question of the relationship between the DGI, the Venceremos Brigade, and the PSP.

Mr. TARABOCHIA, Yes, I will, Mr. Chairman, in view of the very special role played by Alina Alayo, I would like to give the subcommittee some background information so that her contacts with the Americans may be put in the proper perspective: Alina Alayo Amaro is a light mulatto, approximately 30-32 years old, 5'4", 120 lbs., fluent in English. Initially she was a teacher, or operated under that cover, for the General Directorate of Scholarships of the Ministry of Education. In 1967, she was on the training staff of the Cuban "guides" who were to work at the Cuban Pavillion of Expo '67 in Montreal, Canada. If my memory serves me right, an article which appeared in the magazine "Bohemia" early in 1967, mentioned the fact that the "guides" had been sent to an isolated spot where they received intensive and specialized training. "Adelfa" then accompanied the group to Canada. In her contacts with members of the Venceremos Brigade, Alina Alayo often spoke about her work at Expo '67. Information obtained from a former DGI member indicates that "Adelfa" acted as a courier for the DGI and was used on missions related to the brigade. According to the sources to which I have referred, she maintained the personal background files compiled on every brigade member. In addition, she is considered an expert on the U.S. Senate. She has compiled a number of background profiles of members of the Senate. For that purpose, she traveled to New York as a member of a Cuban delegation and worked out of the DGI center at the U.N. She has traveled to Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and England.

Mr. MARTIN, From what you are saying, it would appear that the DGI has a fairly good grip on the brigade?

Mr. TARABOCHIA, Indeed it does. The real purpose of the trip of the 27 veterans was, first, a meeting with Latin American revolutionaries of the Papamayo stripe, and second, the preparation of a book on the brigade. While the meeting with the revolutionaries, which took place on December 28, 1971, was most informative for the U.S. radicals, no book has been published as yet. Incidentally, the work on the book was supposedly a secret but a rift in the leadership of the New York "regional" committee of the brigade revealed that such an operation had been in progress.

There were two individuals in the group who have special significance to the PSP-Venceremos Brigade-DGI connection. They are Angelo Alicea and Alice Simon Berger.

Angelo Alicea, a veteran of the 4th Venceremos Brigade, is listed as a member of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP. Upon his return to the United States, Alicea released a statement on behalf of the group in which he praised two separate acts of piracy perpetrated by the Cubans against two U.S.-owned ships. I have a copy of this statement, which I would like to offer for the record.

Mr. MARTIN, May this be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?  
 Senator THURMOND, Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to follows:]



JANUARY 21, 1972.

On December 6, at the invitation of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, a multi-racial group of 28 North Americans, composed of progressive students and young workers, left for Cuba. For most, it was our second trip—the first being on the Venceremos Brigade.

The objective of the trip was two-fold; to participate in a seminar on Latin America; and to participate in the construction of a housing project. In the seminar we were able to learn in detail how the US government, under the guise of foreign aid and joint business ventures, has been able to monopolize the economy and major aspects of life in Latin America.

Our visit to Cuba coincided with the 13th Anniversary of the triumph of the Revolution. This anniversary marks 13 years of combating underdevelopment, 13 years of combating and defeating direct and indirect aggression by the US government, 13 years of socialist construction, and 13 years of providing an example to the revolutionary peoples of the world.

In mid-December, the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces captured the pirate ships Johnny Express and Lyla Express. Concrete evidence points to the indisputable fact that these two ships have perpetuated continuous armed attacks against Cuba—acts which have resulted in the deaths and injuries of many Cuban citizens. Mr. Nixon took advantage of this "opportunity" to once again attempt to intimidate the Cuban people by hurling demagogic threats. However, under the wise and courageous leadership of Commandante Fidel Castro Ruz, the response of the Cuban people in face of this threat above the ever-growing strength of the will of the Cuban people to determine their own destiny, to build socialism and communism 90 miles from the economic and military might of the US government.

The Latin American seminar dealt specifically with the following countries: Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Puerto Rico, and Brazil.

In Chile, the pro-yankee elements of the bourgeoisie have carried out constant acts of aggression in an attempt to sabotage the victory of Salvador Allende and Popular Unity (UP). But as the recent visit of Fidel Castro demonstrated, the masses of the Chilean people are firmly committed to the revolutionary process now taking place in their country.

The road to liberation of the peoples of Latin America is taking many different forms. A clear example of this is Peru, where a military junta, headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, is carrying out a national democratic revolution.

In the history of the struggle in Bolivia, we have a lesson in revolutionary courage. Though the Bolivian revolutionaries have seen many of their victories sabotaged or undermined by US interests, as in the fascist coup of August 21, 1971, they have always revived their struggle against imperialism.

The same can be said about the Puerto Rican people who, in an age where classical colonialism has been out-moded, find their land occupied by US military and corporate interests. But with the founding of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (MPI) on November 28, 1971, we see the Puerto Rican people bringing their struggle for independence and national liberation to a higher level.

It is clear that the story of the national liberation struggles of the countries of Latin America cannot be told in a brief statement. For this reason the Venceremos Brigade will publish a book which will present an in-depth account of the current situation in Latin America as a summary of the seminar we've just attended.

The present is the struggle; the future is ours!

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Alice Simon Berger is a veteran of the First Brigade. Her husband, Denis Berger also was a member of that brigade. Denis is listed as secretary of finance of the New England Regional Committee of the PSP. In addition, the January 1975 issue of "Carta Roja," the internal bulletin of the PSP, shows that Alice Berger was elected as a candidate member of the U.S. Zone Committee. This is the highest steering organ of the PSP/U.S.

Prior to her second trip to Cuba, Alice Berger had been active in the Springfield, Mass. area as an organizer where she did "vanguard" work, for which she was congratulated in Havana. In August of 1971, she traveled to Chile where she made contact with

"Manuel," most certainly a DGI officer, whom she had met while in the First Brigade and who, at the time, was operating out of the Cuban Embassy in Santiago, Chile. Alice Berger also met with an ICAP official who had worked on the Cuban contingent of the First Brigade. I have previously elaborated on the functions of ICAP as a cover for DGI operations. She also met with the Chilean Ambassador to Cuba and representatives of the Tupamaros terrorist group.

Mr. MARTIN. Are there any other Brigade veterans holding key positions in the PSP?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes, sir, there were quite a few others with old brigade connections, in addition to Angelo Alicea and Denis and Alice Berger, who hold key positions in the PSP.

Sonia Marrero, an editorial assistant of *Claridad*, was a member of the Second Brigade.

Jose A. La Luz, a veteran of the Third Venceremos Brigade, is listed as regional secretary for the PSP's New England Regional Committee.

Sigfredo Carrion, a teacher from Patterson, N.J., and also a veteran of the Third Venceremos Brigade, is listed as a member of the New Jersey Regional Committee and is responsible for the distribution and circulation of *Claridad*.

Isabel Malavet, a veteran of the Third Venceremos Brigade, is listed as a member of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP.

Jeffrey Babcock Perry a veteran of the 2nd Venceremos Brigade from Ridgewood, N.J., is listed as a member of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP.

Olga Iris Sanabria, a veteran of the Fourth Venceremos Brigade, and a member of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP.

Isolina Vargas Alvarez, from the Bronx, a veteran of the Second Venceremos Brigade, is listed as the administrative secretary of the secretariat of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP.

Mr. MARTIN. Your testimony raises a very interesting question. What is the proportion of Venceremos Brigade members in the high echelons of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP? Could you give us an estimate?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes I can, because I have researched this matter. According to PSP official sources, there are approximately 40 individuals listed as members of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP, which is subordinate to the Party's Secretariat and Central Committee in Puerto Rico. By these standards, the U.S. Zone Committee can be considered as the equivalent of the Party's Central Committee. Ten members of the Zone Committee are veterans of a Venceremos Brigade. Thus, the ratio is 1 in 4—a pretty high one, considering that it involves an area covering 10 lower New England, New York City and New Jersey. Of the 10 Venceremos Brigade veterans, one, Isolina Vargas, is the administrative secretary of the secretariat, a key position in a key internal sector of the party. The New England Regional Committee was composed of veterans of the Venceremos Brigade.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record, a chart showing the various branches of the PSP in the New York-New England area. In addition, I would like to offer a list with the names of most of the leadership of the U.S. Zone Committee of the

PSP. To this list should be added the name of Florencio Merced Rosa, a member of the National Political Commission of the PSP who, as the delegate to the U.S. Zone Committee, functions as a kind of proconsul who travels to Cuba quite frequently to meet with Cuban Communist Party leaders.

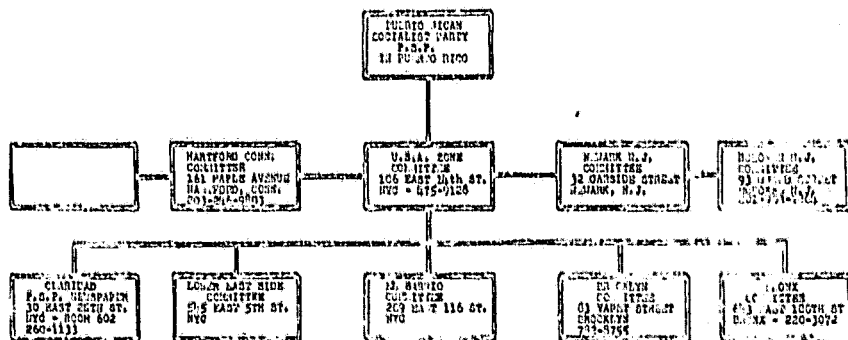
To this list should be added also the names of Isabel Carrasquillo, former Finance Secretary of the southern New England PSP Committee, and Victor Velazquez, president of the Hoboken, New Jersey PSP chapter, as full members of the U.S. Zone Committee. The names of Freddie Rodriguez, Maria Morison, William Cruz, Alicia Berger and Betti Garcia (already on the previous list) as candidate members of the U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP.

Mr. MARTIN. May these documents be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to follows:]

## PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY



Leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party whose identity has appeared in its official publication Claridad as of April 15, 1973.

U.S. Zone Committee of the PSP: Political Bureau: Ramon Arbona, Jose Alberto Alvarez Febles, Andres Torres, Alfredo Lopez, Jesus Lopez, Jose "Che" Velazquez, Digna Sanchez. Secretariat: Ramon Arbona, Secretary of the Zone; Jose Alberto Alvarez Febles, Secretary of Organization; Jose Navarro, Secretary of Political Education; Jesus Lopez, Secretary of Finance; Arlene Bayo, Treasurer; Digna Sanchez, Press Secretary; Ismael Barreto, Secretary of Worker Affairs; Jose Che Velazquez, Secretary of Student Affairs; Isolina Vargas, Administrative Secretary.

Additional members of the Zone Committee: Shelley Karlner, Olga Sanabria, Jose La Luz, Ramon Cintron, Jeff Perry, Tomas Azcuy, Alfredo del Valle, Victor Marcelino Santiago, Luis Lopez, Freddy Carrion, Juan Mendez, David Quinones, Myrna Torres, Angelo Allean, Carmen Lopez, Jose Bizarro, Isabel Malavet, Carmen Rivera, Roberta Salper.

Claridad staff: Ramon Arbona, Editor; Alfredo Lopez, Managing Editor; Roberta Salper, General Manager—30 East 20th Street, Room 508, N.Y., N.Y. 10003 (212) 674-5440.

Editorial Assistants: Jose Alvarez, Tamara Ferrer, Jose La Luz, Sonia Marrero, Marta Perez, Mario Torres, Maritza Arrastia.

Production: Betti Garcia, Tati Medina, Hector Monje, Pinzon, Arturo Azito.

U.N. Correspondent: Juan Rodriguez Cruz.

New York Regional Committee: Andres Torres, Regional Secretary; Carmen Lopez, Secretary of Finance; Carmen Vivian Rivera, Secretary of Finance and Secretary of Political Education.

New Jersey Regional Committee: Benjamin Sanchez Lopez, Regional Secretary; Alfredo del Valle, Secretary Political Education; Sigfredo Carrion-Distribution and circulation of Claridad; Luis Lopez-Bookkeeping for Claridad.

New England Regional Committee: Jose La Luz, Regional Secretary; Denis Berger, Secretary of Finance; Ramon Lago, Secretary of Political Education.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, the rules and regulations of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party contain a special chapter regarding the U.S. section of the PSP. Because of its importance, I would like to quote from the two articles of the chapter. I then will offer it for the record in its Spanish version, Mr. Chairman.

### CHAPTER X--THE SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Article 38: The militant and affiliate members residing in the United States are part of a Section that will adopt its own internal structure and other documents regarding its program, consonant with the specific conditions extant, which will have to be ratified by the Central Committee of the Party. All amendments to the rules and program will have to be submitted to the Central Committee for ratification.

Article 39: The First Secretary of the United States Section will make a periodic account directly to the Political Commission of the Party. The Secretary of Organization of the Section will report every six months or as often as required by the Secretary of Organization on the progress of the Party in the Section and its work plans.

The membership in the party is divided into militant members and affiliates. The party rules I just offered for the record are very specific about their duties, privileges and responsibilities. For this reason, I will try to obtain an English version of the rules to include in the record at the time this testimony is printed.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. If obtained in English translation; it will go into the appendix.

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Another facet of the PSP operation is the manner in which cadres enforce security and recruit new members at the same time, at closed meetings. For instance, prior to being admitted, those who attend are required to sign their name and address. Those who sign are later visited at their homes, first to ascertain their identity and then to attempt to recruit them as members, if their attitude so indicates.

At their meetings, cadres wearing army field jackets with Puerto Rican flags and berets police the hall and position themselves between the audience and the speaker, while others photograph the audience from every angle, apparently for intelligence purposes.

In view of the previous witness' testimony, I believe it would be superfluous to add any more examples of the revolutionary rhetoric spouted by PSP's adherents and their American comrades. What I believe would be more significant is to make it as clear as possible that the PSP's U.S. branch does not deviate in any way from the tenets of its parent organization. In its political declaration entitled "Desde las Entrañas" a Cuban coined phrase meaning "from the intestines, or entrails"—certain intellectuals might call it a "visceral reaction"—the U.S. branch of the PSP set forth its objectives in its best dialectical form. It stated:

In the communities, an area to which we will give priority, given our analysis of the material conditions—we seek to agitate, mobilize and organize Puerto Rican workers, so that our people will wage a struggle that becomes even more militant and determined to expose and heighten the contradictions that will lead to demise of the system.

To implement this objective, the PSP's U.S. branch had designated 1974 as the "Year of Organizational Takeoff." This accounts for the extraordinary recruiting efforts which followed the October rally and other similar events. The internal bulletin of the PSP (U.S.), "Carta Roja", is very explicit in its guidelines on the methods to be used to bring about this organizational takeoff. May I offer this issue of Carta Roja for the records?

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman? Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. There is no doubt that the October rally emboldened the PSP to the point of declaring the year 1975 as the "Year of Decisive Advance." Jose Manuel Navarro, Secretary of Political Education of the PSP (U.S.) set forth the goals of the Party for the year by stating that—(reading):

"The Year of the Decisive Advance means the escalation of a revolutionary struggle in the principal classical colony of the United States to levels that will lead to a pre-revolutionary situation. In the United States, the Branch Committee plans to advance in areas of Party organization in workplaces, increase Party work in the struggle for the democratic rights of Puerto Ricans in the United States, move forward in trade-union work, and consolidate the organizational apparatus."

Among other top priorities outlined by Navarro was the full participation in the Havana Conference and achieving a vanguard role for the PSP in the struggle for the democratic rights of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Attending this meeting, which was the first regular session of 1975, were Florencio Merced Rosa and Nestor Riscoldo Nazario Trabal, alternate member of the PSP's (P.R.) National Political Commission. Nazario is a hard-core revolutionary, scion of a family of terrorists. His mother, Providencia Trabal Rivera, was arrested in March of 1968 for the firebombing of Baker's Department Store in Caparra, P.R. This was her second arrest for firebombing, the first having occurred in 1962. Nestor Nazario was implicated in a plot to infiltrate the nephew of the late Colonel Francisco Caamaño Desñó, leader of the 1965 Dominican revolt, into the Dominican Republic. According to the testimony of three PSP members after their capture by Dominican authorities, Nestor Nazario had ordered them to take Claudio Caamaño Grullón from a safe-house in the vicinity of San Juan, P.R. to the northern coast of the Dominican Republic aboard a highspeed boat.

Mr. MARTIN. Are you in a position to identify the other three Puerto Ricans?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Yes. According to the Dominican authorities who captured them early in June of this year, the three were identified as:

John Thomas Sampson Fernandez, born February 15, 1949, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, PSP member and head of the Party's kindergarten indoctrination program.

Angel Luis Gandia Bonhome, born August 21, 1933, Manati, Puerto Rico, member of the Central Committee of the PSP. He has traveled and received training in Cuba and is believed to have been involved in a theft of 3,600 pounds of iremite from a shop on June 21, 1974, in Puerto Rico. The iremite was subsequently found in many of the bomb-explosion sites in Puerto Rico.

Rafael Enrique Garcia Zapata, born October 31, 1941, in Cabo Rojo, local PSP leader in Cabo Rojo.

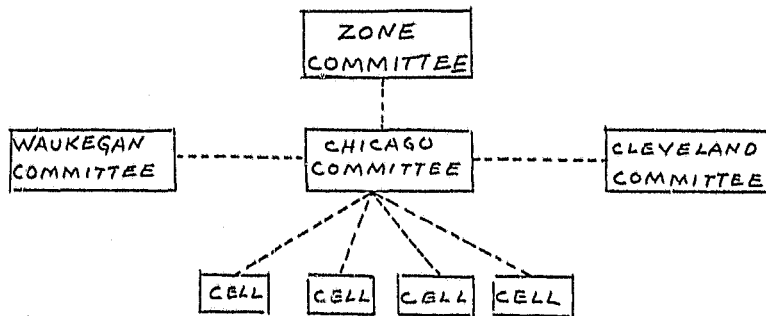
Claudio Caamaño Grullón had lived in Cuba since his escape from the Dominican Republic early in 1973, where his uncle was killed in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a guerrilla base in the mountains of the island. According to the Dominican authorities, the younger Caamaño had reached Puerto Rico from Cuba where Nestor Nazario provided him a hideout.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, Nestor Nazario has traveled to Cuba and during his student days at the University of Puerto Rico was one of the leaders of terrorist attacks and riots against the R.O.T.C. Frequent bombings, firebombings and the death of two cadets resulted from these acts of terrorism.

Mr. MARTIN. Are there any other Puerto Rican organizations of a revolutionary-subversive type operating in the United States?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Before I get into that, let me add that the PSP has, in addition to the chapters I have mentioned, chapters or cells in the Philadelphia-Camden area, in Chicago, and in Albuquerque, N. Mex. There are also what they call "missions" in Springfield and Holyoke, Mass. As I mentioned earlier, this is the area where Denis and Alice Berger were "cadres" involved in "vanguard organizing." Then there are cells in Boston, Mass.; Bridgeport, Conn.; New Haven, Conn.; and Chicago. The Chicago chapter gained some notoriety after the bombings of last June 14. It was the FALN that claimed credit for the action but the PSP felt compelled to issue a disclaimer. But while they disclaimed this particular action, they made it clear that revolutionary violence was part of their credo. May I add, Mr. Chairman, that the PSP and the Venceremos Brigade connection surfaces again in the Chicago situation. Rosa Maria Alvarez, a veteran of the Sixth Venceremos Brigade, appears to be the person entrusted with selecting the brigade recruits. It is my understanding that the Cubans rely heavily on the opinion of the PSP-Venceremos Brigade members, when it comes to final approval of candidates. I would also call attention to the fact that the leader of the Chicago zone, Juan Merdez, has just returned from a visit to North Korea where he had ~~also~~ is a member of a delegation led by Florencio Merced. A joint ~~communique~~ was issued on June 18, 1975, expressing solidarity with North Korea. At this point, I would like to offer for the record, the press release issued by the Chicago PSP chapter at the time of the June bombings, a chart of the Chicago PSP zone committee, and all the FALN communiques issued after the bombings in New York and Chicago. In addition I would like to offer a list of the terrorist bombings by Puerto Rican terrorists for the past year.

<sup>1</sup> As this hearing was going into final print, it was learned that Claudio Caamaño, Grullón and Toribio Peña Jaquez had been captured by Dominican authorities. They confirmed that they had been taken to the Dominican Republic by boat by the three PSP members. The Dominican authorities, after a trial, sentenced Johnny Sampson, Angel Gandia, and Rael Garcia to 30 years in prison. They are appealing the sentence.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be accepted for the record, Mr. Chairman?  
 Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.  
 [The material referred to follows:]



- ZONE COMMITTEE: 3 elected members and presidents of the committees.
- AREA COMMITTEES: 1 elected president and presidents of cells. Other members can be elected.
- NEIGHBORHOOD CELLS: A cell must consist of three members.

#### PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

Militant members: Juan Mendez, David Santiago, America Sorrentini Blaut, Rosa Maria Alvarez, Luis Perez, James Blaut, Raquel Noboa, Ester Noboa Perez, Carmen Traverso, Jorge Capote, Marcel Capote, Gustavo Morales, Antonio Hernandez, Carmen Escobar, William Acevedo, Rafael Vendrel, Nancy Diaz, Ipolito Neri, Marta Rodriguez, Maria Lohmeir, Maria Hanzlik (Hanzlink), Enrique Hanzlik (Hanzlink), Damary Cruz.

Affiliated members: Rosendo Miranda, Angel Otero, Ana Encarnacion, Edwin Rivera, Perfecto Diaz, Sigisfredo Aviles, Carmelo Mejia, Chuck Torres, William Neri, Berta Neri.

#### KOREA, PUERTO RICO STRENGTHEN TIES OF FRIENDSHIP

PYONGYANG, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA.—This city was host to conversations between a delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Workers Party of Korea.

The Korean delegation was presided by Yang Hyong Sop, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea.

Mun Byong Rok also was part of the delegation.

The Puerto Rican delegation was led by Florencio Merced, member of the Political Commission of the PSP and delegate of that body in the United States. Also, Juan Mendez, alternate member of the Central Committee of the PSP and Chicago Committee president, was part of the delegation.

The delegations exchanged reports on the activities of their respective parties and points of view on the possibility of developing fraternal and cooperative relations between both parties and peoples.

Other common areas between both parties and peoples were discussed.

The conversations took place last Monday in an atmosphere of confraternity.

PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (MPI) MID-WEST ZONE, CHICAGO, ILL.,  
 JUNE 17, 1975

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Pro Independence Movement) has called the Press here today to clearly state our position regarding the bombing incidents this past Saturday morning, June 14th in this city.

We would like to point out that our Party recognizes all means of struggle that will advance the national liberation of our country, Puerto Rico. Our political thesis states:

"The Puerto Rican Socialist Party believes that it is necessary to respond to the system's reactionary violence with revolutionary violence in accord with the objective conditions and to the extent that the objective conditions require it. As limitations on legal actions increase it will be necessary to resort to illegal actions, and clandestine struggle will intensify." (PSP Political Thesis, U.S.)

At this moment we doubt if the actions on June 14th were sponsored by a revolutionary pro-independence Puerto Rican organization, or were the work of the enemies of independence and self-determination of our people. On the other hand if this action was carried out by a Puerto Rican Revolutionary group interested in advancing our liberation process we see no tie between these acts and a strategic program towards our liberation.

It is important to point out that up to the moment the three actions carried out by the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.) in New York and in Chicago point to a terrorist strategy, not tied to a mass movement nor a program directed to the development of class consciousness in our people in relation to our colonial condition.

We are enemies of indiscriminate terrorism, a reflection of a desperate policy used throughout the peoples liberating struggles by sectors of the petty bourgeois which, in turn, opens the doors of the ruling class and its most reactionary sectors to unleash repression on the struggling peoples and its vanguard sector.

Indiscriminate terrorist actions portray a lack of confidence in the capacity of the masses and its vanguard, the Proletariat, to develop a rigorous movement that will shake the corrupt foundations of this system in order to create a more humane system where the exploitation of man by man will cease to exist.

We maintain that revolutionary terrorism is never directed against the people, it is never directed against the masses. It is never done indiscriminately, nor is it used against said person because he is bourgeois or because he sustains ideas contrary to ours. Terrorism can only be justified in revolutionary practice when it is used in the context of a revolutionary mass struggle to destroy the enemy in the military field at a given moment.

The type of terrorism used by the imperialism and all its lackeys—indiscriminate, vicious and directed at innocent people (as was the case of the bombs placed in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico this past January 11)—is typical of the reactionary fascism of the right wing imperialism, capitalism, and is completely alien to Marxism-Leninism, and to the proletarian revolution.

Nevertheless, we are sure that the enemies of our centennial struggle for independence will take advantage of this situation to discredit organizations, groups, or individuals who support the independence of our country, Puerto Rico. What is intended is confuse the people by a display of hysteria against the just struggle of those oppressed and exploited sectors who struggle for their democratic rights and national liberation. It is precisely at these moments when alliances are growing among the Third World sectors of this society, the people begin or organize and demand their democratic rights, when large sectors of North American people unite with the struggle of our people for national independence that the U.S. Government increases the spying vigilance and repression at all levels against those groups which are growing in popular support.

The U.S. Government uses a misinformed hysterical press which lends itself as it has done throughout history to serve the interests of the ruling class to create subjective conditions for greater repression and eventually facilitate the creation of a police state apparatus.

#### ARMED FORCES OF PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION

OCTOBER 20, 1974.

Communique No. 1.

Today, commando units of FALN attacked major Yanki corporations in New York City. These actions have been taken in commemoration of the October 30, 1950 uprising in Puerto Rico against Yanki colonial domination. These bombings

are also to accent the seriousness of our demands for the release of the five Puerto Rican political prisoners, the longest held political prisoners in the hemisphere:

Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores, and the immediate and unconditional Independence of Puerto Rico.

The corporations that we bombed are an integral part of Yanki monopoly capitalism and are responsible for the murderous policies of the Yanki government in Puerto Rico, Latin America, and against workers, peasants and Indians throughout the world. It is these corporations which are responsible for the robbery and exploitation of Third World countries in order to make greater profit and increase their capital. They are the ones which often decide who shall govern countries, who shall live and who shall die.

For these reasons these corporations and the criminals who run them are the enemies of all freedom loving people, who are struggling for self determination and the right to decide their own destinies.

We, the guerrilleros of the FALN, have undertaken these bombings, not only against the presence of the yanki corporations in Puerto Rico, but as part of the international workers revolution and all people fighting for national liberation.

These actions, along with bombing of major department stores, for three consecutive days in late spring, and the dynamite blasts at Newark Police Headquarters and City Hall, demonstrate what we have said since 1969, that the Puerto Rican people organizing and arming in order to form a Peoples Revolutionary Army which will rid Puerto Rico of yanki colonialism. We have opened two fronts. One in Puerto Rico the other in the United States, both nourished by the Puerto Rican people and allies within North America.

We are not pure militarists. Therefore we do not oppose those parties or people who believe in mass organization. However, to be truly revolutionary, a party must educate and organize the masses for the seizure of power by way of an organized and disciplined vehicle, a Peoples Revolutionary Army. A party which fails to do this falls into reformism and becomes an agent of the bourgeoisie for the continued exploitation and oppression of the people.

The importance of a Peoples Revolutionary Army is that it arms the masses, and produces cadres to lead the masses to victory and the development of a Marxist-Leninist Party, tried and tested under fire, which will educate and organize the people for the construction of a socialist society.

Finally, the FALN supports the demonstration, at Madison Square Garden, on Oct. 27, in support of the independence of Puerto Rico. We view this as a significant step in the formation of an anti-imperialist front, in the United States, which will support and fight for the national liberation of Puerto Rico, and educate the American people to the murderous and genocidal policies of the yanki capitalists throughout the world.

Long live free Puerto Rico.

Long live the unity of all people in struggle against imperialism.

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND.

Communique No. 3

JANUARY 24, 1975.

We, FALN, the Armed Forces of the Puerto Rican Nation take full responsibility for the especially detonated bomb that exploded today at Frances Tavern with reactionary corporate executives inside.

We did this in retaliation for the CIA ordered bomb that murdered Angel Luis Chavonier and Eddie Ramos, two innocent young workers who supported Puerto Rican Independence and the conscienceless maiming of ten innocent persons and one beautiful Puerto Rican child six years old in a Mayaguez, Puerto Rico dining place on Saturday the eleventh of January of 1975.

The Yanki government is trying to terrorize and kill our people to intimidate us from seeking our rightful independence from colonialism. They do this in the same way as they did in Viet Nam, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, the Congo, Algeria and in many other places including the United States itself. But this CIA/Colby method will fail.

In our communique number 2\* we warned the North American Government that to terrorize and kill our people would mean retaliation by us. This was not an empty warning.

The bombs exploding in Puerto Rico and the United States in support of striking workers, in demand of the release of our political prisoners and our independence and to protest the Rockefeller-Kissinger visits, have avoided any injury

\*Communique No. 2, in its Spanish version, may be found in the files of the subcommittee.

to innocent people. The attacks on our people have been elevated vicious criminal brutality and murder of hungry hard working people. You have unleashed a storm from which you comfortable Yankis cannot escape.

Release Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, and Irving Flores.

FREE PUERTO RICO RIGHT NOW!

COMANDO GRISELIO TORRESOLA.

APRIL 2, 1975.

Communique No. 4.

The FALN takes responsibility for the bombings of Yanki corporations in New York on April 2, 1975. These corporations are at the heart of Yanki imperialism. They are important decision makers in the planning of domestic and foreign policy and benefit from the exploitation and oppression of Puerto Rico and other third-world nations as well as the north american working-class.

While the working-class throughout the capitalist world suffers from recession and sinks deeper into poverty, the profits of these conglomerates continue to grow.

These actions are the continuation of an offensive aimed at gaining the independence of Puerto Rico and the release of five political prisoners, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Oscar Collazo.

We are especially concerned with the release right now of Figueroa Cordero who is dying of cancer. His death in prison will result in grave consequences for the Yanki Capitalist class.

The bombing of the Anglers Club; an exclusive millionaires club that boasts of members like the Rockefellers, was a retaliatory attack against that sector of the North American ruling-class which is directly responsible for the actions of the C.I.A. and for the wave of repression which is being murderously implemented in Puerto Rico.

Our attack on January 24, 1975 was not in anyway directed against working-class people or innocent North Americans. The targets of our attack were bankers, stock brokers, and important corporate executives of monopolies and multinational corporations. These are not friends of the working people. But the enemies of humanity everywhere.

The bomb attack in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico was the most vicious of the 100 acts of C.I.A. terror in the last two years against the Puerto Rican people. The enemy has to resort to fascist terror because the contradictions in colonial Puerto Rico are being unmasked so rapidly that the only way they believe they can control the people is by instilling fear by the use of force.

To the FALN the issue is very clear; at no time can we allow an attack by the enemy upon our people to go unanswered. Fascist terror is met with revolutionary violence.

Free Puerto Rico now!

Release the five Puerto Rican political prisoners in Yanki jails!

COMANDO CENTRAL FALN.

Communique No. 5

On Saturday June 14, 1975, thousands of Puerto Ricans will be marching in the Puerto Rican Day Parade on state street. They will be protesting against poor education, bad housing, racism, police brutality, unemployment. In essence against the exploitation that they are subjected to on an every day basis.

In solidarity with the protest contingency we have undertaken the following bombing of Yanki Imperialist institutions; the United America Bank, First National Bank, and the United States Federal Building which houses various agencies of repression, ex. CIA, FBI, LEAA. Also, the Department of Immigration which at this time is trying to blame the failing economic system on our chicano brothers and sisters. This agency is responsible for the massive deportation and repressive actions against our chicano and mexican workers.

These actions also demonstrate to the United States Government that the mobile guerrilla units of the FALN can hit anywhere in the United States.

Once again, we demand the immediate release of the four NATIONALIST PRISONERS being held in yanki jails, and the unconditional independence of PUERTO RICO.

We also want to express our solidarity with the victorious people of VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, and LAOS. Their victory is our victory!

COMANDO CENTRAL FALN.



## BOMBINGS BY PUERTO RICAN TERRORISTS

Date	Time	Location	Target	Seat	Container	Propane tanks	Timer watch	Battery	Other	Defective assigned	Additional remarks	Precinct 61 #
Sept. 28, 1974	0131	Newark, N.J. Police Headquarters, Franklin and Green Sts.	Police headquarters.	Front of hedges.	Airline bag...	5 "Bernzomatic" metal canisters 3"x10" gold color.	"Timex" wristwatch, silver case, blue face.	11 1/2-volts "Eveready" ignitor 6R6-198 (large).	Blue plastic flight bag, "Delta Air Lines," 8" length of blue wire red fuse (S-20) "Buss Fused fuse".		Damage—light, ATF Lab—Ammonium nitrate dynamite "Dupont E.B.C."	
Do.....	0430	Newark, N.J. City Hall, Franklin and Green Sts.	City hall.....	No name alley, hedges.	Green fabric and plastic shoulder bag.	4 "Bernzomatic" metal canisters marked "Camp fuel" 14.1 oz. models.	"Timex" wristwatch, silver case, white face, black hands, small brass screw in face at #1.	6-volt "Mal-lory" 915 black and white top marked	Blue wires #1-28 long #2-9" long #4-5" long #5-4" long Yellow wires #1-33" long #2-9" long #3-7" long #4-2" long #5-11 1/2" green wire #1-5 1/2" long green shoulder, zippered carry-case, made of fabric and plastic.		do.....	
Aug. 31, 1974	0055	Damrosch Park, Lincoln Center, West 63d St. and Amsterdam Ave.	Hedges.....		Airline bag.....	1.....	Wristwatch.....	11 1/2-volt "Eveready" #5.	Fragments of E.B.C., flint tape, adhesive tape, newspaper.	Dudonis, Schlagler.	Damage—light, forensic run, #4325.	20th, 9922.
Oct. 26, 1974	0256	Nassau St. between Cedar and Pine.	Marine Midland Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, Barclays Bank.	Under auto, 1971 Mercury, NY 508NSM.							Damage—extensive, forensic run, #5296.	1st, 7576.
Do.....	0257	Exxon Building, 1251 6th Ave.	Chemical Bank.	On front window ledge.	Airline bag "AER Lingus."	2.....					Damage—extensive, forensic run, #5295.	Mtn. 22912.
Do.....	0257	Rockefeller Center, 10 Rockefeller Plaza.	Banco de Ponce, Eastern Airline.	Street level window near door.	Blue airline bag.	4 5 plastic covers from valves.	Wristwatch.....	Possible.....			Damage—extensive, forensic run, #5294.	Mtn. 22913.
Do.....	0326	Lever House, 350 Park Ave.	Lever House.....	In shrubs, planter, adjacent to plaza entrance.	Green airline bag.	5.....	do.....	do.....			Damage—extensive, forensic run, #5293.	Mtn. 22914.
Do.....	0340	Union Carbide Building, 270 Park Ave.	Manufacturers Hanover, Union Carbide.	Base of column in plaza.	Blue airline bag.	2.....	do.....	do.....			Damage—extensive, forensic run, #5292.	Mtn. 22915.
Dec. 11, 1974	2320	Abandoned tenement (front door), 335 East 110th St.	NYCPD, MOF....	Rear side of front door.	Blue airline bag "American."	3.....	None.....	None.....	Fragments of E.B.C. VES, pipe fragments, clothpin, miscellaneous.	Hornidge, O'Connor.	Damage—extensive, anonymous call—DOA, forensic run, #6052, a, b, c, d.	23th, 14982.
Jan. 24, 1975	1315	Fraunces Tavern, Bissell Dining Room, 101 Broad St.	Fraunces Tavern.	In hallway near emergency exit.	Black leather and lock hardware.	1.....	Wristwatch, 17 jewel.				Damage—extensive, 4-DOAs, 55-aided, forensic run, #0308.	1st, 628.
Apr. 2, 1975	2340	New York Life Building, 27th and Madison Ave.	Life Building....	Lobby street level.	Blue canvass nonairline.		Yellow watch frame.	6 1/2-volt, Eveready.	Fragments of a blue canvass bag, 2 pieces of grey tape.		Extensive glass damage.	
Do.....	2335	25th St. and Park Ave.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.	Street level near door/gate.	Nonairline.....		do.....	Battery.....	Various lengths of wires.		do.....	13th, 3668.
Apr. 3, 1975	2400	280 Park Ave....	Bankers Trust....	Street level near mail/gate.	Black leather.....		Yellow metal frame.	6 1/2 volt, Eveready.	Bag fragments contained plastic, wood, assorted metal.		do.....	
Do.....	0012	5 West 46th St....	Blimpie Base Sandwich Shop.	Street level by curb in garbage can.	Possible brief case.		do.....	6 1/2 volt, ignitor.	No fabric recovered from bag—only 2 similar catches w springs—pieces of wire. Assorted metal.		do.....	
June 14, 1975	0036	53 East Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.	Mid-Continental Plaza Building.	Street level.....	Camera bag or airline bag.		Wristwatch fragments.	Not recovered.			Slight glass damage (approximately \$5,000).	
Do.....	0053	1 East Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill.	United of America Bank.	Street level flower pot planter.	None.....		Not recovered.....	do.....			do.....	

Mr. TARABOCHIA. To return to your question, Mr. Martin. While the PSP is the most vociferous and visible group espousing revolutionary war for the liberation of Puerto Rico, there are several other groups that espouse more or less the same Marxist-Leninist ideals. They are centered, for the most part, in the New York area. One of them is Resistencia Puertorriqueña, a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates the seizure and overthrow of the U.S. Government by revolutionary violence.

Then there are several "umbrella organizations," which bring together the organizations I have named with a variety of minor Puerto Rican radical organizations. As in the case of the PRSC, some of them are coalitions of Puerto Ricans and Americans committed to causes favoring independence. Most have interlocking memberships or transferable memberships when the name and orientation change.

Mr. MARTIN. Could you cite some of the "umbrella organizations" for the record?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. There is the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization and the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee. Then there is the "Frente Unido", or United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. This is a true "umbrella organization", formed in 1972 in New York by nine member organizations. These included: Coalición Puertorriqueña; El Comité; Machete; Resistencia Puertorriqueña; PSP; PRRWO (formerly the Young Lords); the Young Disciples; the Defense Committees for Eduardo Cruz, Carlos Feliciano, Humberto Pagan; the Hartford Connecticut Defense Committee and the Young Lords National Defense Committee. This coalition organized a march on Washington which took place on October 30, 1973. Approximately 2,000 Puerto Ricans, mainly from New York, marched on this occasion demanding freedom of five Puerto Rican Nationalists imprisoned for the attempted assassination of President Truman and the shooting of five Congressmen on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. Carlos Feliciano, a terrorist just released from prison, had been convicted for a 1970 bombing of the General Electric Building in Manhattan; while Humberto Pagan, a fugitive from Puerto Rico, was sought for the murder of Lt. Juan B. Mercado during a riot at the University of Puerto Rico on March 11, 1970. Eduardo Cruz was convicted on December 14, 1971, of the possession of incendiary devices, and was sentenced to seven years in maximum security. He had been linked to at least 100 bombings and attempted bombings in the 2 years preceding his arrest on March 18, 1971.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Tarabochia, during Mr. Martinez' testimony, you mentioned that you had some details regarding acts of sabotage directed against public utilities in Puerto Rico. Would you care to elaborate?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I was referring to the arrest by the FBI of a militant member of the PSP for possession of explosives, bombs, and timing devices found in his residence. The PSP militant arrested on December 14, 1974, was identified as Delfin Ramos Colon of Ponce, Puerto Rico. The arresting agents had some difficulty in locating the explosives because Delfin Ramos kept them hidden in a 5 foot-deep hole covered by a concrete slab located under a cabinet. The explosives consisted of three bombs of a type similar to those found on sabotaged

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## 1 OF 3

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sites of the Puerto Rican waterworks; these bombs contained approximately three pounds of "iremite", a slow-burning explosive similar to dynamite. In addition, the agents found three watches connected to detonators ready to be attached to the bombs. In the hole, Ramos had stored 8 gallons of sulfuric acid and three packages of a gelatinous substance impregnated with a liquid, possibly sulfuric acid, similar to incendiary devices found at the scene of firebombed U.S.-owned department stores.

Delfin Ramos was held under a \$200,000 bail, which was later reduced to \$100,000. He posted bail and was released on December 30, 1974.

Mr. MARTIN. You mean he came up with \$100,000 in bail? How could he have found such money?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. As far as I know, the money was raised by other members of the PSP. I understand that the PSP held protest rallies to raise funds for Ramos' bail. What is more interesting, however, is the fact that at the time Delfin Ramos was arrested, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Roberto Ramos Rodriguez, son of Delfin, a PSP member, and also a veteran of the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. This particular contingent seems to have contributed a substantial number of militants for both the PSP and satellite groups closely connected with the PSP.

Mr. SOURVINE. Is there any special reason for the fact that members of the Third Brigade are so prominent among the top echelons of the PSP?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. As I recall, that particular contingent had the distinction of receiving an extensive lecture from "Che" Guevara's own bodyguard and one of the three survivors of his group. This was Harry Villegas, known under the nom-de-guerre of "Pombo". The Third Venceremos Brigade was addressed by him in the mountains of the Escambray. The Cubans were very impressed by the result of the lecture, as evidenced by a report by Joaquin Andrade, a special correspondent of Prensa Latina, the government-controlled news agency of Cuba. Let me quote the concluding paragraphs:

"The most useful part of the trip, up to now, has been the lectures," commented a Puerto Rican (Brigade member), "We are really learning. And they ask questions constantly, with great eagerness. Susan wants to clear up some confused points of Marighella's 'Manual of Urban Guerrilla'; Bob would like to know how the Tupamaros function and organize themselves because 'we could do the same in many cities of the United States'; a blond long-haired young man worries about 'What actions could we carry out to cooperate with Latin American revolutionaries in their struggle against Yankee imperialism?'"

"Undoubtedly many of the young people of the Venceremos Brigade have gathered fundamental experiences during their brief stay in the Isle of Pines."

This report, Mr. Chairman, appeared in the October 30, 1970, issue of "Direct from Cuba", a Prensa Latina service. I would like to offer it for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARTIN. May this be received for the appendix, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material will be found at p. 463 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. Mr. Chairman, as you know, the subcommittee and its chairman have been accused, both by the leadership of the Venceremos Brigade and by the Daily World, of making slanderous allegations about the activities of the brigade. I believe that, in addition to the other information in possession of the subcommittee, the paragraphs I have just quoted are sufficient to dispel any doubts as to the nature of the lessons imparted by the Cubans. For this reason, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer, for inclusion in the record at this point, the articles regarding the subcommittee's report on the Venceremos Brigade which appeared in the Daily World and the Venceremos Brigade Bulletin.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection so ordered.

[The material referred to will be found on p. 464 of the appendix.]

Mr. TARABOCHIA. In concluding my testimony, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the appendix of the record a series of photographs of Puerto Rican terrorists, with biographical notes on each, and some historical notes on sundry terrorist groups operating in Puerto Rico which were not dealt with in the testimony of Mr. Martinez. I would also like to offer for the appendix an organizational chart showing the structure of the P.S.P., and identifying the members of the P.S.P. Secretariat.

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to will be found on p. 467 of the appendix.]

Mr. MARTIN. Before we conclude, Mr. Tarabochia, I would like to come back to your geometric description of the relationship existing between the Cuban DGI, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Venceremos Brigade. You suggested, at one point, that the relationship could be described as a triangular relationship; and, at another point, that it might be described as a circular relationship because it is hard to say where the activities of one organization left off, and the activities of the others began. In the light of the testimony that you have given here today, I wonder whether it might not be a bit more indicative of the real relationship existing between the three organizations, if we described it as a pyramidal relationship, with the DGI at the apex and with the PSP and the Venceremos Brigade at the base, with numerous interlocks between them? Do you think this would be a reasonable description?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. That expresses it exactly, and I stand corrected—geometry was never my forte, even though my father's name was Euclid. Yes, when taken into consideration, the relationship is, indeed, a pyramidal one, with the Cuban D.G.I. hierarchy, for all practical purposes, in complete control.

Mr. MARTIN. There is one more matter, Mr. Chairman. Our experience has been that it generally takes 6 weeks or more to process a hearing record through the Government Printing Office. I think we can take it for granted, therefore, that this record will not be in print for some weeks after the September 5 conference in Havana, to which both Mr. Martinez and Mr. Tarabochia have referred. I would therefore like to suggest that Mr. Tarabochia be asked to provide for the record, as soon as the September 5th conference is over, a brief commentary on the conference and selected documents emerging from it. I believe it would help to round out the hearing record if it could be left open for such an addendum.

Senator THURMOND. That's a very good idea. Without objection, so ordered. Mr. Tarabochia, you will provide the Subcommittee with this addendum as soon as possible after the September 5 Conference?

Mr. TARABOCHIA. I will.

[The addendum in question follows immediately after the conclusion of the testimony.]

Mr. MARTIN. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Tarabochia, I want to thank you for the carefully researched and documented presentation you have made this afternoon. I think your testimony and Mr. Martinez's, taken together, present the clearest picture I have yet come across of the forces at work to subvert Puerto Rico and to detach it from the United States.

The hearing will now stand adjourned, subject to the call of the chair.

[Whereupon, at 5:30 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

#### COMMENTARY ON THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

The dimness of prospects that Cuba might be induced to back off from its efforts to pry Puerto Rico away from the United States is indicated by the statement of Cuba's president, Osvaldo Dorticos. Speaking to the International Conference on Solidarity with the independence, broadcast live from Havana last September 8, Dorticos said:

"The Cuban Revolutionary Government cannot escape involvement in the Puerto Rican cause and our unyielding duty of solidarity with it as a controversial bilateral issue between the United States and Cuba."

At another point in the same speech, President Dorticos said:

"Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation subjugated to colonial domination and is not a domestic problem of the United States."

That the Communist-directed Cuban objective goes even beyond Puerto Rico was made clear by still a third statement of Dorticos, in the same speech, when he spoke of

"The need for close unity between Puerto Ricans and the working class and progressive and democratic forces in the United States for the liberation of Puerto Rico and, at the same time, development of the democratic and revolutionary struggle in the United States itself."

The degree of commitment of the Cuban Politburo to the separation of Puerto Rico from the United States is evidenced by the fact that more than 200 Puerto Rican activists have visited Cuba. Many were trained in terrorism and all of them received encouragement. This number does not include the 60 or 70 Puerto Ricans who traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigades.

The speech by Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado and the final declaration of the Havana Conference follow. Attached are also some articles from the Communist mouthpiece "Daily World" regarding the participants at the Havana Conference.

[The material referred to will be found in the appendix at p. 475.]

## APPENDIX

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES, VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ONE THOUSAND AND FIFTEENTH MEETING, HELD AT HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK, ON FRIDAY, 15 AUGUST 1975, AT 3 P.M., CHAIRMAN: MR. SALIM (UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA)

### SPECIAL COMMITTEE DECISION OF 1 NOVEMBER 1974 CONCERNING PUERTO RICO—Continued

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that a draft resolution is ready for submission, and I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to introduce it. Mr. AL-HUSSAWY (Syrian Arab Republic). We have worked hard to have a final text to submit to the Committee, and on behalf of the delegations of Congo, Cuba, Iraq, Mali and my own delegation I have the honour and the pleasure to present to the Committee a draft resolution on the item before us. As the text is very clear, I shall simply read it to the Committee:

"The Special Committee,

"Having considered the question relating to its resolutions of 28 August 1972, and 30 August 1973 concerning Puerto Rico, as approved by the General Assembly in its resolutions 2008 (XXVI) of 2 November 1972 and 3103 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, respectively,

"Taking note with appreciation of the report of the Rapporteur submitted in accordance with its resolution of 30 August 1973,

"Having heard the statements of representatives of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rico Peace Council and the Puerto Rican Independence Party,

"Reaffirming that, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), of 14 December 1960, all peoples have the right to self-determination and independence and that by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

"Taking into consideration the relevant documents and resolutions on Puerto Rico approved by non-aligned Governments and countries during the Ministerial Meeting held at Georgetown in 1972, the Fourth Summit Meeting at Algiers in 1973, the Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials held at Dakar in February 1975, and the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Nations held at Havana in March 1975,

"Conscious of the need to accelerate the study of all pertinent aspects of the situation with respect to the procedure for the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) concerning Puerto Rico,

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;

"2. Reaffirms its resolutions of 28 August 1972 and 30 August 1973 concerning Puerto Rico;

"3. Urges the Government of the United States of America to abide, unconditionally and without reservations, by the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) in order that the Puerto Rican people may be able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and to refrain from taking any measure which might obstruct the exercise of, or endanger, the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence;

"4. Requests the Government of the United States to refrain from carrying out, directly or indirectly, through the Territory's administration, any act of political persecution against persons, parties, organizations and/or institutions of



the Puerto Rican people active in the liberation of their country, or any actions that might weaken the full development and national integrity of the Puerto Rican people;

"5. Recognizes the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico as representing the legitimate aspirations of the Puerto Rican people struggling for independence, in accordance with paragraph 1 above;

"6. Considers it advisable to send a fact-finding mission to Puerto Rico as soon as possible and preferably in early 1976 and requests the Government of the United States to extend its co-operation in order to facilitate the dispatch of a mission;

"7. Decides to keep the question under continuous review."

That is the text of the draft that we agreed upon after thorough consultations with most of the representatives in this Committee. I hope and believe it will have the support of all of them.

#### UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF THE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO, A CHRONOLOGY: 1953-1975

[Prepared for the Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service by Marjorie Ann Browne, Analyst in International Organization, Foreign Affairs Division, August 22, 1975.]

##### SUMMARY

Chapter 11 (articles 73-74) of the United Nations Charter contains the text of the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories which established a principle of accountability of states for the administration of dependent territories under their jurisdiction. Between 1946 and 1953, the United States, pursuant to article 73(e) of the Charter, transmitted information to the U.N. Secretary-General on Puerto Rico. A General Assembly resolution in 1953 removed Puerto Rico from the list of non-self-governing territories to which article 73(e) applied, due to its new commonwealth or associated status with the United States.

The adoption in 1960 by the U.N. General Assembly of a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples marked the beginning of a new U.N. role with regard to non-self-governing territories. A Special Committee to implement the Declaration was created by the General Assembly in 1961 and has acted to stimulate more rapid movement toward independence and self-determination for non-self-governing territories.

More recent consideration of the status of Puerto Rico within U.N. forums did not occur until 1964, after the Cairo Declaration by Non-Aligned Countries called on the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization to consider the situation in Puerto Rico in relation to the 1960 Declaration. The Committee of 24 took note of the Declaration in its report to the General Assembly. Cuba's Foreign Minister in October 1965 requested that the question be placed on the agenda of the Special Committee. This request was forwarded to a Working Group of the Committee in 1965 and again in 1966 when the Committee failed to consider it due to lack of time. In 1967 the Committee held a brief debate on the issue as a part of the Working Group's report. Between 1967 and 1971 the issue did not come under consideration in any form.

In 1971 Cuba requested that the question be placed on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly at its 26th session. The General Committee's rejection of this request was upheld by a General Assembly vote.

1972 marked the start of more substantive consideration within the Special Committee of the question of Puerto Rico. The Committee decided for the first time to discuss the question. A resolution was adopted recognizing

the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution (XV) of 14 December 1960

and instructing its Working Group to submit a report relating to the procedure to be followed by the Special Committee in implementation of the 1960 Declaration.

In 1973 the Special Committee, for the first time, granted a hearing to two Puerto Rican groups during its consideration of the application of the 1960 Declaration with respect to Puerto Rico. The debate ended after approval of a resolution which called on the Committee's Rapporteur to collect information on the question and called on the U.S. Government to refrain from any measures which might obstruct full and free exercise by Puerto Ricans of their right to self-determination and independence.

Only a brief consideration of the question was held in 1974 when the Committee heard from representatives of two Puerto Rican groups and from the Cuban representative. It adjourned further consideration until 1975, when it heard from representatives of three Puerto Rican groups. After several days of discussion, the Special Committee voted to postpone further consideration of the question until 1976.

##### Chronology

September 1, 1953. The U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, by a vote of 12 in favor to none against, and 3 abstentions, adopted a resolution which took note (1) that the people of Puerto Rico had achieved a new constitutional status with internal self-government; (2) that the information before it indicated that Puerto Rico may be considered as falling outside the scope of article 73(e) of the U.N. Charter; and (3) that the U.S. Government considered that it is no longer necessary or appropriate for it to transmit information on Puerto Rico under article 73(e). This resolution was passed in the light of information transmitted by the United States with respect to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. (General Assembly. Official Records: Eight Session, Supplement No. 15 (A/2465))

November 5, 1953. General Assembly Committee 4 (Trusteeship, including Non-Self-Governing Territories), by a vote of 22 in favor to 18 against, with 10 abstentions, adopted a draft resolution on the cessation of the transmission of information under article 73(e) on Puerto Rico. (A/2556)

November 27, 1953. The U.N. General Assembly, by a vote of 26 in favor, to 16 against, with 18 abstentions, adopted Resolution 748 (VIII) which 1) considered that the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories in Chapter 11 of the U.N. Charter no longer could be applied to Puerto Rico and 2) considered it appropriate that the transmission of information under article 73(e) should cease with the regard to Puerto Rico. (U.N. Yearbook, 1953)

Those voting in favor: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, United States, Uruguay.

Those voting against: Australia, Belgium, Burma, Byelorussian SSR, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Poland, Ukrainian SSR, Union of South Africa, USSR, Yugoslavia.

Abstentions: Afghanistan, Argentina, Denmark, Egypt, France, Iceland, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, United Kingdom, Venezuela, Yemen.

November 27, 1961. The U.N. General Assembly created a Special Committee of 17 members to examine the application of the 1960 General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (G.A. Res. 1514 (XV)) and to make recommendations on the progress and extent of its application. The Committee was enlarged to 24 members in late 1962 and has frequently been referred to as the Special Committee of 24. The functions of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories were transferred to the Special Committee of 24 by the 1963 General Assembly.

October 10, 1964. The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo, adopted a Declaration on a Programme for Peace and International Cooperation which drew "the attention of the Ad hoc Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico and calls upon that commission to consider the situation of these territories in the light of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations." (A/5763)

November 18 and 20, 1964. The Special Committee considered a report of its Working Group which took note of the Cairo Declaration. The U.S. representative opposed approval of the report because it referred by inference to a territory on which the General Assembly had already taken action. Sentence 2 of Paragraph 4 of the report read as follows:

Reference was also made by members of the Working Group to the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Non-Self-Aligned Countries, which has been circulated as a document of the General Assembly (A/5763), and which in the last paragraph of section I, entitled "Concerted Action for the Liberation of the Countries still dependent; elimination of Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism", draws the attention of the Special Committee to certain territories. (A/AC.109/L.172)

November 20, 1964. A U.S. amendment to delete the above cited sentence was rejected by the Committee by a vote of 16 votes against to 7 in favor, with 1 abstention.

In favor: Chile, Denmark, Italy, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Australia.

Against: Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, USSR, Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria.

Abstaining: Uruguay.

The Report as a whole was approved by a vote of 15 in favor to 3 against, with 6 abstentions. (A/AC.100/SR.317; A/5800)

In favor: Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, USSR, Tanzania, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India.

Against: United Kingdom, United States, Australia.

Abstaining: Italy, Madagascar, Venezuela, Chile, Denmark, Iran.

October 1, 1965. Cuba's Minister for Foreign Affairs requested the Special Committee to place the question of Puerto Rico on its agenda.

October 7, 1965. There was a brief discussion in Special Committee over the circulation of the Cuban letter as an official document. The U.S. representative indicated that the letter should not have been circulated since in accordance with the 1953 Assembly resolution the territory to which the letter referred was not within the competence of the Committee. The Committee did not discuss the Cuban request which had been forwarded to the Working Group for its future consideration. (A/6000; A/AC.100/SR. 380)

October 10, 1966. The Special Committee approved proposals in paragraph 10 of the Working Group's report, subject to the reservations which had been expressed during debate. The Working Group in paragraph 10 had agreed that the question of inclusion of Puerto Rico, as requested by the Cuban letter of October 1, 1965, "required further detailed study and that in view of the lack of time at this session, it should make such a study at an early date during the next session of the Special Committee." (A/AC.100/L.355; A/AC.100/SR.471)

April 10, 1967. The Special Committee took up a report of its Working Group which had referred to it the question of including Puerto Rico and the Comoro Archipelago on the list of territories to which the Declaration is applicable. After some debate the Special Committee decided, by an unrecorded vote of 19 in favor to 8 against, with 1 abstention, to adjourn further debate sine die. (U.N. Yearbook, 1967; A/6700 (Part I)). The proposal had been sponsored by Syria, supported by Tanzania, and opposed by the United States and Australia.

January 11, 1971. The United States and the United Kingdom withdrew from membership on the Special Committee.

August 17, 1971. The Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations submitted a request for inclusion on the agenda of the 26th session of the General Assembly of an item: "The colonial case of Puerto Rico". Attached to the letter was an explanatory memorandum stating that the people of Puerto Rico had an inalienable right to independence and that the United Nations had the unavoidable duty to take all necessary steps to ensure that those people achieved the full exercise of their national rights. (A/8441).

September 23, 1971. The General Committee of the General Assembly, by a vote of 10 in favor to 5 against, with 8 abstentions, recommended to the Assembly that "The colonial case of Puerto Rico" not be included in the agenda of the 26th session. (A/BUR/SR.192).

The vote was unrecorded but a survey of the statements made on the item indicates the following positions:

In favor of rejecting the request: United States, Costa Rica, Finland, Philippines, France; United Kingdom, Japan, Greece, China, Belgium (according to press reports).

Opposed to rejection: Bulgaria, Hungary, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Sierra Leone; USSR (according to press reports).

Abstentions: Jamaica, Ireland, Zambia, Venezuela, Cyprus;

Absent for the vote: Sudan (opposed rejection)

September 24, 1971. The General Assembly, by a vote of 57 to 26, with 38 abstentions, adopted the recommendation of the General Committee not to include the item on its agenda. (U.N. Yearbook, 1971)

In favor: Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Por-

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, Qatar advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote against.

tugal, Qatar,<sup>1</sup> South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Zaire.

Against: Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Libyan Arab Republic, Mali, Mongolia, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Bolivia, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Cyprus, Dahomey, Egypt, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

June 6, 1972. The Special Committee, without objection, agreed to discuss the question raised by the letters of Cuba and of the United States concerning the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the list of Territories to which the 1960 Declaration is applicable. (A/AC.100/PV.783; A/AC.100/L.705)

August 18, 25, and 28, 1972. The Special Committee discussed the question as agreed in June. (A/AC.100/PV.883; A/AC.100/PV.884; A/AC.100/PV.888)

August 25, 1972. Iraq introduced a draft resolution in which the Special Committee recognized

the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

and instructed its Working Group to submit to it a report, at an early date in 1973, relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Special Committee for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to Puerto Rico. (A/AC.100/L.837)

August 28, 1972. The Special Committee, by a vote of 12 in favor to none against, with 10 abstentions, adopted the above draft resolution. The vote was:

In favor: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, USSR, Tanzania.

Abstaining: Venezuela, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Fiji, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia.

November 2, 1972. The Cuban U.N. representative, in explanation of the General Assembly vote on the question of the implementation of the 1960 Declaration, indicated that a vote in favor of the resolution was a vote recognizing the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to independence.

General Assembly resolution 2008 (XXVII) contained 18 operative paragraphs none of which referred to Puerto Rico by name or to inclusion of certain entities on the list of Territories. Operative paragraph 3 approved the report of the Special Committee on its work in 1972 and its program of work for 1973. Only three of the 69 pages devoted to the work of the Committee in the lengthy report dealt with the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the list of Territories. (General Assembly, Official Records, Twenty-Seventh Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/8723/Rev.1)) General Assembly resolution 2008 (XXVII) was adopted by a vote of 99 in favor to 5 (U.S.) against, with 23 abstentions. The roll call vote can be found in the U.N. Yearbook for 1972.

November 6, 1972. The Cuban representative submitted a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General on the question of Puerto Ricans held as "political prisoners" in the United States. (AC/3/631)

November 27, 1972. U.S. Representative Jewel Lafontant replied in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) of the General Assembly to the November 6 letter from Cuba. She indicated that those individuals identified in the Cuba letter were in fact in prison "after trials by jury and with careful attention to due process of law" for "specific criminal acts, including murder, arson and armed assault". (U.S. Mission to the U.N., Press Release USUN-144 (72))

February 23, 1973. The Special Committee referred the question of "Special Committee resolution of 28 August 1972 concerning Puerto Rico" to its Working Group for consideration and recommendations.

August 16, 1973. The Special Committee began consideration of the report of the Working Group which referred the question back to the Committee, along with requests for two groups to be heard. The Committee, without objection, decided to take up the item. (A/AC.100/PV.938)

August 22, 1973. The Special Committee, by a vote of 12 in favor to none against, with 12 abstentions, granted the request of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Independence Party for hearing. Statements in

explanation of vote on the resolution which was introduced by Chile and supported by Iraq, Mali, and Syria, identify the following pattern of votes:

Abstentions: India, Iran, Ethiopia. (A/AC.109/PV.942)  
August 30, 1973. The Special Committee by a vote of 12 in favor to 2 against, with 0 abstentions, adopted a resolution introduced by representatives of the Congo and the Syrian Arab Republic, and supported by Iraq and Mali. The operative paragraphs of the resolution follow:

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960;

2. Requests the Government of the United States of America to refrain from taking any measures which obstruct the full and free exercise by the people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, as well as of their economic, social and other rights, and in particular to prevent any violation of these rights by bodies corporate under its jurisdiction;

3. Requests its Rapporteur, with the assistance of the Secretariat, to collect all pertinent information on the question, including the views of all the parties concerned, for the purpose of facilitating its consideration of the question in 1974;

4. Decides to keep the question under continuous review. The note on the resolution follows:

In favor: Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Czechoslovakia, India, Iraq, Mali, Syrian Arab Republic, USSR, Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

Against: Ethiopia, Iran.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Venezuela. (General Assembly, Official Records: Twenty-Eighth Session, (Supplement No. 23 (A/0023/Rev. 1))

October 30, 1974. The Special Committee began consideration of the report of its Rapporteur on the question of Puerto Rico, as requested by its August 30, 1973 resolution. The first part of the report, according to the Rapporteur, related to previous action taken by the United Nations in relation to Puerto Rico. The second part contained information relating to the constitutional and political development of Puerto Rico. Part three contained views on the question, as received from the parties concerned. (A/AC.109/L.970)

The Special Committee, on October 30 and November 1, received oral statements from representatives of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. (A/AC.109/PV.983-984)

November 1, 1974. The Special Committee, without objection, agreed to "resume consideration of the item during its first session in 1975." (A/AC.109/PV.985)

August 13, 1975.<sup>2</sup> The Special Committee renewed for 1975 consideration of the question of Puerto Rico. It adopted, without objection, the petitions of three groups to be heard.

August 14, 1975. Representatives from the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Puerto Rican Peace Council began their statements to the Special Committee.

August 15, 1975. Representatives of Cuba, supported by the Congo, Iraq, Mali, and Syria, introduced a resolution which would recognize the small movement for the independence of Puerto Rico as "representing the legitimate aspirations of the Puerto Rican people." The text also recommended sending a fact-finding mission to the island, preferably early in 1976, and requested the U.S. Government "to extend its cooperation."

August 20, 1975. The Special Committee, by a vote of 11 in favor, to 0 against, with 2 abstentions, voted to postpone further consideration of the Puerto Rico question until 1976.

In favor: Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Tunisia.

Against: Bulgaria, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Mali, Syria, USSR, Tanzania.

Abstaining: Trinidad and Tobago, Yugoslavia.

Not Participating: China.

Absent: Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> The information for 1975 was taken from New York Times coverage and supplemented by telephone with Ms. Molly Williamson, IO/CNP, Department of State: 63-28114.

# SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1962-74

[Prepared for the Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, by Ralyn D. Roberts, Research Assistant, Foreign Affairs Division, August 19, 1975.]

## MEMBERSHIP IN 1962

Australia. Representative: Sir James Pihmsoll. Alternate: J. D. L. Hood.  
Cambodia. Representatives: Koun Wick, Nong Khmy, Sonn Vocunsal. Alternate: Calmerom Measkeh.

Ethiopia. Representative: Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy. Alternates: Kifle Wodafo, Girma Abebe.

India. Representative: C. S. Jha (Chairman). Alternates: A. B. Bhadkankar, M. Rasgotra, K. Natwar Singh.

Italy. Representatives: Livio Theodoli, Paolo Tallarigo. Alternate: Ludovico Carducci-Artensio, Vittorio Ivella, Vincenzo Zito.

Madagascar. Representative: Louis Rakotonalala. Alternates: Rémi Andrianahoro, Henri Jux Ratsimbazafy, Gabriel Rakotonalala.

Mali. Representative: Sori Coulibaly (Vice-Chairman). Alternate: Mamadou Traoré.

Poland. Representative: Bodhan Lewandowski. Alternate: Kazimierz Smigajowski.

Syria. Representative: Najmuddine Rifai (Rapporteur).

Tanganyika. Representatives: V. K. Kiyaruzi, A. Z. Nsilo Sival. Alternate: Christopher P. Nguzi, John S. Malecela, Abbas Skyes.

Tunisia. Representative: Taleb Slim. Alternates: Mahmoud Mestiri, Chedly Ayari.

USSR. Representative: A. V. Zorin. Deputy Representatives: P. D. Morozov, V. I. Oberemko.

United Kingdom. Representatives: Sir Patrick Dean. Alternates: C. T. Crowe, Sir Hugh Foot.

United States. Representative: Jonathan B. Bingham. Alternate: Robert E. Blake.

Uruguay. Representative: Carlos María Veldzquez. Alternate: Aureliano Aguirre.

Venezuela. Representative: Carlos Sosa Rodríguez. Alternate: Ignacio Silva Suere.

Yugoslavia. Representative: Miso Pavicovic. Alternates: Miroslav Kreacic, Streten Ilie.

During 1962, the Special Committee established: a Sub-Committee on the Questionnaire, a Sub-Committee on Petitions, a Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia, and a number of drafting sub-committees.

## Subcommittee on the questionnaire

Members in 1962: India, Mali, Syria, Hungary, Yugoslavia.

This Sub-Committee ceased to exist after the draft questionnaire prepared by it had been adopted by the Special Committee on 20 March 1962.

## Subcommittee on petitions

Members in 1962: Australia, Ethiopia, India, Madagascar, Poland, Tunisia, Venezuela.

## Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia

Members in 1962: India, Mali, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Venezuela.

On 17 December 1962, the General Assembly decided to enlarge the Special Committee by seven new Members, to be nominated by the President of the Assembly. Those nominated were Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone.

## MEMBERSHIP IN 1963

Australia. Representative: D. O. Hay. Alternates: J. D. L. Hood, Dudley McCarthy.

Bulgaria. Representatives: Detcho Stamboliev, Malin Mojerov, Barouh M. Grinberg.

Cambodia. Representative: Vocunsal Soan (Second Vice-Chairman).

Chile. Representatives: Daniel Schweitzer, Humberto Diaz Casanueva. Alternate: Miss Leonora Kracht.

Denmark. Representative: Aage Hesselund-Jensen. Alternates: Kjeld Mortensen, Poul Boeg.

Ethiopia. Representative: Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy. Alternates: Kifle Wodajo, Girma Abebe.

India. Representative: B. N. Chakravarty. Alternates: A. B. Bhadkamkar, K. Natwar Singh (Rapporteur, after 16 September 1963).

Iran. Representative: Mehdi Vakil. Alternates: Hassan Zahedi, Mohled Din Nabavi.

Iraq. Representative: Adnan M. Pachachi. Alternates: Burhan M. Nouri, Miss Fatma Ibrahim Kamal, Anis Zaki Hassan.

Italy. Representatives: Vittorio Zoppi, Paolo Tallarigo. Alternates: Ludovico Carducci-Artensio, Vincenzo Zito.

Ivory Coast. Representative: Arsène Assouan Usher. Alternates: Simeon Aké, Julien Kacou.

Madagascar. Representatives: Louis Rakotomalala, Gilbert Ratsitohara, René Andriamaharo, Mrs. Lucile Ramaholimihaso.

Mali. Representative: Sori Coulibaly (Chairman). Alternates: Mamadou Traoré, Ahmadou Baba Dieko.

Poland. Representative: Bohdan Lewandowski. Alternate: Kazimierz Smiganowski.

Sierra Leone. Representative: Gershon B. O. Collier. Alternate: Donald E. George.

Syria. Representatives: Salah El Dine Tarayl, Najmuddine Rifal (Rapporteur, until 16 September 1963), Izzet Oubari, Hassan Muraywid, Tarek Jabri.

Tanganyika. Representatives: Chief Erasto A. M. Mang'anya, A. K. E. Shaba, Sebastian Chale. Alternates: C. Y. Mgonja, J. B. Mkatte.

Tunisia. Representatives: Taleb Slim, Mahmoud Mestri, Chedly Ayari, Sadok Bouzayen.

USSR. Representative: N. T. Fedorenko. Alternate: V. A. Brykin.

United Kingdom. Representative: Sir Patrick Dean. Alternate: C. E. King.

United States. Representative: Sidney R. Yates. Alternates: Richard F. Pedersen, Robert O. Blake.

Uruguay. Representative: Carlos María Velázquez (First Vice-Chairman). Alternates: Auerliana Aguirre, Mateo Marques Seré.

Venezuela. Representatives: Carlos Sosa Rodríguez. Alternate: Leonardo Díaz González.

Yugoslavia. Representative: Miso Pavicevic. Alternates: Miroslav Kreacic, Steton Ilie, Alexander Bozovic.

During 1963, the Special Committee re-established its Sub-Committee on Petitions and established a Working Group and Sub-Committees on Southern Rhodesia, Aden and British Guiana.

#### *Subcommittee on Petitions*

Members in 1963: Australia, Ethiopia, India, Madagascar, Poland, Tunisia (Chairman), Venezuela, (Vice-Chairman).

#### *Working Group*

The Working Group in 1963 consisted of a 4-member Bureau (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Iraq, Italy and Sierra Leone.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (representative of Mali), the First Vice-Chairman (representative of Uruguay), the Second Vice-Chairman (representative of Cambodia), the Rapporteur (the representative of Syria until 16 September 1963 and thereafter by the representative of India who was elected Rapporteur in place of the representative of Syria).

#### *Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia*

Members in 1963: Mali (Chairman), Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Uruguay.

#### *Subcommittee on Aden*

Members in 1963: Cambodia (Chairman), Iraq, Madagascar, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee on British Guiana*

Members in 1963: Chile, Iran, Mali (Chairman), Sierra Leone, Syria.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1964

Members and representatives in 1964:

Australia. Representative: D. O. Hay, Alternate: Dudley McCarthy.

Bulgaria. Representative: Milko Tarabanov, Matey Karashtanov, Ivan Pelnirdjiev.

Cambodia. Representative: Vocunsal Sonn (Second Vice-Chairman). Alternate: Thouth Vutthi.

Chile. Representative: Carlos Martínez Sotomayor. Alternates: Javier Illanes, Miss Leonora Kracht.

Denmark. Representatives: A. Hesselund-Jensen, Hans R. Tabor. Alternates: Kjeld Mortensen, Skjold G. Melblin.

Ethiopia. Representative: Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy. Alternates: Girma Abebe, Ayelework Abebe.

India. Representative: B. N. Chakravarty. Alternate: K. Natwar Singh (Rapporteur).

Iran. Representative: Mehdi Vakil. Alternate: Mohleddin Nabavi.

Iraq. Representative: Adnan Pachachi. Alternates: Alauddin H. Aljabouri, Abdul Hussein Alisa.

Italy. Representative: Piero Vini. Alternates: Ludovico Carducci Artensio, Vincenzo Zito.

Ivory Coast. Representative: Arsène Assouan Usher. Alternates: Moïse Aké, Julien Kacou.

Madagascar. Representative: Louis Rakotomalala. Alternates: Gabriel Rakotonalana, René G. Ralison.

Mali. Representatives: Sori Coulibaly (Chairman), Ahmadou Dieko, Mrs. Jeanne Ronssseau.

Poland. Representative: Kazimierz Smiganowski. Alternate: Jan Slowikowski.

Sierra Leone. Representative: G. B. O. Collier. Alternate: George Coleridge-Taylor.

Syria. Representative: Rafik Asha. Alternate: Adnan Omran.

Tunisia. Representatives: Taleb Slim, Mahmoud Mestri, Sadok Bouzayen, Mohamed Gherib.

U.S.S.R. Representative: N. T. Federenko. Alternate: P. P. Shalkov.

United Kingdom. Representatives: Sir Patrick Dean, Lord Caradon. Alternate: C. E. King.

United Republic of Tanzania.<sup>1</sup> Representatives: Chief E. A. Mang'anya; C. Y. Mgonja, Mohammad Ali Foun, A. B. C. Donelli, E. P. Mwaluko.

United States. Representatives: Sidney R. Yates, Mrs. Marletta P. Tree. Alternates: Dwight Dickinson, Christopher Thoron.

Uruguay. Representative: Carlos María Velázquez (First Vice-Chairman). Alternate: Mateo Marques Seré.

Venezuela. Representative: Carlos Sosa Rodríguez. Alternate: Leonardo Díaz González.

Yugoslavia. Representative: Danilo Lekic. Alternate: Milos Melovski.

During 1964, the Special Committee continued its Sub-Committee on Petitions and its Working Group. It re-established its Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia and its Sub-Committee on Aden. It established a Sub-Committee of Good Offices on British Guiana. It also established three other Sub-Committees (Sub-Committees I, II and III) to examine conditions in other territories and certain other items.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

Members in 1964: Australia, Ethiopia, India, Madagascar, Poland, Tunisia (Chairman until 20 May 1964), Venezuela (Vice-Chairman until 20 May 1964 and Acting Chairman thereafter).

#### *Working group*

The Working Group in 1964 consisted of a 4-member Bureau (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Iraq, Italy and Sierra Leone.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: The Chairman (the representative of Mali), the First Vice-Chairman (the representa-

<sup>1</sup> Tanganyika was a Member of the United Nations from 14 December 1961 and Zanzibar was a Member from 10 December 1963. Following the ratification, on 20 April 1964, of Articles of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar continued as a single Member of the United Nations; on 1 November 1964, it changed its name to United Republic of Tanzania.



tive of Uruguay), the Second Vice-Chairman (the representative of Cambodia), the Rapporteur (the representative of India).

#### *Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia*

Members in 1964: Mali (Chairman), Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Syria, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee on Aden*

Members in 1964: Cambodia (Chairman), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee of Good Offices on British Guiana*

Members in 1964: Mali (Chairman), Tunisia, Uruguay.

#### *Subcommittee I*

Members in 1964: Denmark, Ethiopia (Chairman), Mali, Syria, Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia (Rapporteur).

#### *Subcommittee II*

Members in 1964: Australia, Cambodia (Chairman), Chile, India (Rapporteur), Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leone, United States.

#### *Subcommittee III*

Members in 1964: Bulgaria, Iran (Rapporteur), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Uruguay (Chairman), Venezuela.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1965

Members and Representatives in 1965:

Australia. Representative: Patrick Shaw. Alternate: Dudley McCarthy.  
Bulgaria. Representatives: Milko Tarabanov, Matey Karasimeonov, Baruh Grinberg, Ivan Peinirdjiev.

Cambodia.<sup>2</sup> Representative: Huot Sambath (Second Vice-Chairman). Alternates: Thouthut Vutthi, Chhuan Samber.

Chile. Representative: Javier Illanes. Alternate: Hernán Sánchez.

Denmark. Representative: Hans R. Tabor. Alternate: Skjold G. Mellbin.

Ethiopia. Representative: Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy. Alternates: Girma Abebe, Ayalework Abebe.

India. Representative: G. Parthasarathi. Alternates: Brajesh C. Mishra, K. Natwar Singh (Rapporteur).

Iran. Representative: Mehdi Vakil. Alternate: Mohsen S. Esfandiary.

Iraq. Representative: Adnan Pachaoui. Alternates: Alauddin H. Aljubouri, S. Saleem.

Italy. Representative: Piero Vinci. Alternates: Ludovico Carducci-Artenisio, Vincenzo Zito.

Ivory Coast. Representative: Arsène Assouan Usher. Alternates: Moise Aka, Julien Kacou.

Madagascar. Representative: Louis Rakotomalala. Alternate: Gabriel Rakotonjaina.

Mali. Representatives: Sori Coulibaly (Chairman), Mamadou Moctar Thiam, Mrs. Jeanne Rousseau.

Poland. Representative: Bohdan Lewandowski. Alternate: Jan Slowikowski.

Sierra Leone. Representative: G. B. O. Collier. Alternates: George Coleridge-Taylor, G. E. O. Williams.

Syria. Representative: Rafik Asha. Alternates: Adnan Nachebe, Rafie Jouejati.

Tunisia. Representatives: Taieb Slim, Sakok Bouzayen, Mohamed Gherib.

USSR. Representative: N. T. Fedorenko. Alternate: P. F. Shakhov.

United Kingdom. Representative: Lord Caradon. Alternate: F. D. W. Brown.

United Republic of Tanzania. Representatives: J. W. S. Malecela, Mohammad Ali Fom, A. B. C. Danieli, E. P. Mwaluko.

United States. Representatives: Mrs. Marietta P. Tree, Mrs. Eugenie M. Anderson. Alternates: Dwight Dickinson, Christopher Thoron.

Uruguay. Representative: Carlos María Velásquez (First Vice-Chairman). Alternate: Mateo Marques-Sere.

Venezuela. Representative: Carlos Sosa-Rodriguez. Alternate: Leonardo Díaz González.

Yugoslavia. Representative: Danilo Lekic. Alternate: Milos Melovski.

<sup>2</sup> On 20 September 1965, in a letter to the Secretary-General, Cambodia announced its intention of withdrawing from the Special Committee. Afghanistan replaced Cambodia on this Committee as from 21 December 1965.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition to these it has a Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia, a Sub-Committee on Aden, a Sub-Committee of Good Offices on British Guiana and Sub-Committees I, II and III which examine conditions in other territories and certain other items.

#### *Subcommittees on petitions*

Members in 1965: Australia, Ethiopia, India, Madagascar (Vice-Chairman), Poland, Tunisia, Venezuela (Chairman).

#### *Working group*

In 1965, the Working Group of the Special Committee of 24 consisted of the Bureau (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Iraq, Italy and Sierra Leone.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: The Chairman (the representative of Mali), the First Vice-Chairman (the representative of Uruguay), the Second Vice-Chairman (the representative of Cambodia), the Rapporteur (the representative of India).

#### *Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia*

Members in 1965: Mali (Chairman), Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Syria, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee on Aden*

Members in 1965: Cambodia (Chairman), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee of good offices on British Guiana*

Members in 1965: Mali (Chairman), Tunisia, Uruguay.

#### *Subcommittee I*

Members in 1965: Denmark, Ethiopia (Chairman), Mali, Syria, Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia (Rapporteur).

#### *Subcommittee II*

Members in 1965: Australia, Cambodia (Chairman), Chile, India, Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leone, United States.

#### *Subcommittee III*

Members in 1965: Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Uruguay (Chairman), Venezuela.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1966

Members and Representatives in 1966:

Afghanistan. Representative: Abdul Rahman Pazwak. Alternates: Ghulan Ghaus Waziri, Mohammed Mirza Sammah.

Australia. Representatives: Patrick Shaw, Dudley McCarthy. Alternate: B. B. Hickey.

Bulgaria. Representatives: Milko Tarabanov, Matey Karasimeonov, Dimitar Sabev.

Chile. Representative: Jose Pinera, Vice-Chairman. Alternate: Javier Illanes.

Denmark.<sup>3</sup> Representative: Hans R. Tabor. Alternate: Skjold G. Mellbin.

Ethiopia. Representatives: Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy (until May 1966), Lij Endalkachew Makonnen (from July 1966). Alternates: Girma Abebe (until May 1966), Berhane Deressa, Miss Kongit Sinegiorgis.

India. Representative: G. Parthasarathi. Alternates: Brajesh C. Mishra, K. Natwar Singh (until March 1966), C. R. Gharekhan.

Iran. Representative: Mehdi Vakil. Alternate: Mohsen S. Esfandiary.

Iraq. Representative: Kadhim Khalaf. Alternate: Ala'uddin H. Aljubouri, Rapporteur.

Italy. Representative: Piero Vinci. Alternates: Ludovico Carducci-Artenisio, Vincenzo Zito (until June 1966).

Ivory Coast. Representative: Siméon Ake. Alternates: Julien Kacou, Jean-Marie Kakou Gervais, Joseph Laga (until September 1966).

Madagascar. Representative: Louis Rakotomalala. Alternates: Gabriel Rakotonjaina, Andviranampy Ramaholimihaso, Mrs. Lucile Ramaholimihaso.

Mali. Representatives: Sori Coulibaly (until 1966), Moussa Keita (from May 1966), Mrs. Jeanne Rousseau (until June 1966), Mamadou Moctar Thiam.

Poland. Representatives: Bohdan Lewandowski (until July 1966), Bohdan

<sup>3</sup> On 20 December 1966, the Assembly appointed Finland to replace Denmark, which had decided to withdraw from the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.



Tomorowicz (from September 1966). Alternates: Eugeniusz Wyzner, Jan Slowikowski, Wladyslaw Neneman.

Sierra Leone. Representative: Gershon B. O. Collier, Chairman. Alternates: G. E. O. Williams, Frank P. Karefa-Smart.

Syria. Representative: George J. Tomeh. Alternates: Rafic Jouejati, Adnan Nachabe.

Tunisia. Representatives: Taieb Slim, Mongi Sahli, Amor Fezzani, Hamdan Ben Aissa, Mohamed El Memmi.

USSR. Representative: N. T. Fedorenko. Alternate: P. F. Shakhov.

United Kingdom. Representative: Lord Caradon. Alternate: F. D. W. Brown.

United Republic of Tanzania. Representatives: J. W. S. Malecela, Vice-Chairman, Ali Mohammad Fom, Idi Mtwinga.

United States. Representative: Mrs. Eugenie M. Anderson. Alternate: Richard E. Johnson.

Uruguay. Representative: Pedro P. Berro. Alternates: Mateo Marques-Sere Felipe Montero.

Venezuela. Representative: Pedro Zuloaga. Alternates: Leonardo Diaz Gonzalez (until July 1966), Tulio Alvarado (until October 1966), Gilberto I. Carrasquero Miss Clemencia Lopez.

Yugoslavia. Representative: Danilo Lekic. Alternate: Dimitar Janevski.

During 1966 the Special Committee held meetings between 8 March and 18 May and between 6 July and 30 November at United Nations Headquarters, New York; and between 23 May and 22 June at the following cities in Africa: Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania; Mogadiscio, Somalia; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Cairo, United Arab Republic; and Algiers, Algeria.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition to these it had Sub-Committees in 1966 on: Aden; South West Africa; Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; and Equatorial Guinea. Sub-Committees I, II and III, which examine conditions in other territories and certain other items,<sup>4</sup> were maintained in 1966.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

*Members in 1966:* Australia, India, Madagascar (Vice-Chairman), Poland, Syria, Tunisia, Venezuela (Chairman).

#### *Working Group of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four*

In 1966, the Working Group of the Special Committee of Twenty-four consisted of the Bureau (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India and Italy.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (the representative of Sierra Leone), the Vice-Chairman (the representatives of Chile and the United Republic of Tanzania), the Rapporteur (the alternate representative of Iraq).

#### *Subcommittee on Aden*

*Members in 1966:* Afghanistan, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Venezuela, Yugoslavia (Chairman).

#### *Subcommittee on South West Africa*

*Members in 1966:* Denmark, Ethiopia (Chairman), India (Rapporteur), Ivory Coast, Poland, Tunisia, Venezuela.

#### *Subcommittee on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland*

*Members in 1966:* Afghanistan, Bulgaria (Rapporteur), Iraq, Italy, Madagascar, Mali, Uruguay (Chairman).

#### *Subcommittee on Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Poo and Rio Muni)*

*Members in 1966:* Chile, Denmark, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone (Chairman), Syria (Rapporteur), United Republic of Tanzania.

#### *Subcommittee I*

*Members in 1966:* Denmark, Ethiopia, Mali, Syria (Rapporteur), Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania (Chairman), Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee II*

*Members in 1966:* Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, India (Rapporteur), Iraq (Chairman), Poland, Sierra Leone, United States.

<sup>4</sup> On 26 April 1966, the Special Committee decided to refer to Sub-Committee I for consideration and report the question of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia and their mode of operation.

#### *Subcommittee III*

*Members in 1966:* Bulgaria, Iran (Rapporteur/Acting Chairman), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Uruguay, Venezuela (Chairman).

#### *MEMBERSHIP IN 1967*

##### *Members and Chief Representatives in 1967:*

Afghanistan. Representative: Abdul Samad Ghaus. Alternate: Mohammad Mirza Sammah.

Australia. Representative: Patrick Shaw. Alternates: Kenneth Henry Rogers; B. B. Hickey.

Bulgaria. Representatives: Milko Tarabanov; Dimitar Sabev.

Chile. Representative: José Piñera. Alternate: Javier Illanes.

Ethiopia. Representatives: Lij Endalkachew Makonnen; Ato Kifle Wodajo. Alternate: Miss Konjit Shnegiorgis.

Finland. Representatives: Max Jakobson; Matti Cawen; Paavo Keisalo.

India. Representative: Gopalaswami Parthasarathi. Alternates: B. C. Mishra; C. R. Gharekhan.

Iran. Representative: Medhi Vakil. Alternates: Mohsen S. Esfandlary, Rapporteur; Farrokh Parsi.

Iraq. Representatives: Kadhim Khalaf (until July 1967), Vice-Chairman; Adnan Pachachi (from August 1967). Alternate: Salim A. Saleem.

Italy. Representative: Piero Vinci. Alternates: Ludovico Carducci-Artenisio; Massimo Castaldo; Alessandro Grandi.

Ivory Coast. Representative: Siméon Aké. Alternate: Kouamé Koffi.

Madagascar. Representative: Louis Rakotomalala. Alternates: Gabriel Rakotonirainy; Raymond Raelina.

Mali. Representatives: Moussa Léo Kelta; Mamadou Moctar Thiain; Yaya Diakité; Mamadou Diarra.

Poland. Representatives: Bohdan Tomorowicz; Jan Slowikowski.

Sierra Leone. Representative: C. O. E. Cole. Alternates: Gustavus E. O. Williams; Ambrose P. Genda (until March 1967); M. O. Cole (from September 1967); F. P. Karefa-Smart.

Syria. Representative: George J. Tomeh. Alternates: Rafic Jouejati; Adnan Nachabe; Abdallah El-Attrash.

Tunisia. Representatives: Mahmoud Mestiri; Ahmed Chtourou; Mahamed Fourati (from May 1967); Hamdan Bed Aissa (until July 1967); Hédi Drissi.

USSR. Representative: N. T. Fedorenko. Alternate: P. F. Shakhov.

United Kingdom. Representative: Lord Caradon. Alternates: C. P. Hope; J. D. B. Shaw.

United Republic of Tanzania. Representatives: J. W. Malecela, Chairman; M. A. Fom; Idi Hamisi Mtwinga (until July 1967).

United States. Representatives: Mrs. Eugenie M. Anderson; Seymour M. Finger (until 9 February 1967); H. Garcia (from 5 December 1967). Alternate: Richard E. Johnson.

Uruguay.<sup>5</sup> Representative: Pedro P. Berro. Alternates: Mateo Marques Sere (until August 1967); Felipe Montero.

Venezuela. Representatives: Manuel Pérez Guerrero, Vice Chairman; Germán Naya Carrillo. Alternate: Gilberto I. Carrasquero.

Yugoslavia. Representatives: Anton Vratosa (from July 1967); Danilo Lekic (until June 1967). Alternate: Dragoslav Pejic.

During 1967, the Special Committee held meetings between 9 February and 19 April at United Nations Headquarters, New York; from 29 May to 1 June at Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo; from 3 to 9 June at Kitwe, Zambia; from 12 to 21 June at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania; and from 22 August to 5 December at United Nations Headquarters, New York.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition to these, Sub-Committees I, II and III (see below) were maintained in 1967. Matters pertaining to certain other Territories, not referred to in Sub-Committees I, II and III, were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

*Members in 1967:* Australia, Chile, India, Madagascar (Vice-Chairman), Poland, Syria (Chairman), Tunisia.

<sup>5</sup> On 10 December 1967, following an announcement by the President of the Assembly that Uruguay had withdrawn from the membership of the Special Committee, the General Assembly confirmed his decision to appoint Honduras to fill the resulting vacancy.

### Working Group of Special Committee of Twenty-Four

In 1967, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four decided to enlarge the Working Group's membership by one. The Working Group, therefore, consisted in 1967 of the Bureau of the Special Committee (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Italy and Mali.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania), the Vice-Chairmen (the representatives of Iraq and Venezuela), the Rapporteur (the alternate representative of Iran).

#### Subcommittee I

Members in 1967: Ethiopia (Chairman), Finland, Mali, Syria (Rapporteur), Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

#### Subcommittee II

Members in 1967: Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, India (Chairman), Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leone (Rapporteur), United States.

#### Subcommittee III

Members in 1967: Bulgaria, Iran (Chairman), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Uruguay, Venezuela (Rapporteur).

### MEMBERSHIP IN 1968

#### Members and Chief Representatives in 1968:

Afghanistan. Representatives: Abdul Rahman Pazhwak; Abdul Samad Ghaus, Rapporteur (from 10 June 1968); Aman-Ullah Hasrat (from September 1968); Mohammad Mirza Sammah (until August 1968).

Australia. Representatives: Patrick Shaw; Kenneth Henry Rogers; J. R. Kelso. Alternates: W. G. T. Miller; M. J. McKeown; J. A. Benson.

Bulgaria. Representatives: Milko Tarabanov; Dimitar Sabev.

Chile.<sup>6</sup> Representative: José Piñera. Alternate: Jorge Huneeus.

Ecuador.<sup>6</sup> Representatives: Leopoldo Benites; Teodoro Alvarado Garacona.

Ethiopia. Representatives: Li J. Endalkachew Makonnen; Killo Wodajo. Alternate: Miss Konjit Shnegiorgis.

Finland.<sup>7</sup> Representatives: Max Jakobson; Matti Cawen; Tapani Brotherus; Paavo Kelsalo (from June 1968).

Honduras. Representative: Humberto López Villamil. Alternate: Mrs. Luz Bertrand de Bromley.

India. Representative: G. Parthasarathi. Alternates: B. C. Mishra; S. M. S. Chaudha; C. R. Gharekhan, Rapporteur (until June 1968).

Iran. Representative: Mehdi Vakil. Alternate: Mohsen S. Esfandiary.

Iraq. Representative: Adnan Pachachi. Alternates: Adnan Raouf, Vice-Chairman; Salim Abdelkader Saleem (until September 1968).

Italy. Representative: Piero Vinci. Alternates: Massimo Castaldo; Alessandro Quaroni.

Ivory Coast. Representatives: Siméon Aké; Koffi Kouamé; Julien Kacou (from September 1968).

Madagascar. Representatives: Louis Rakotomalala (until June 1968); Blaise Rabetafika; Raymond Ruelina.

Mali. Representatives: Mamadou Boubacar Kanté; Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Aly (from October 1968); Mamadou Diarra. Alternates: Oumar Ba; Issaga Coulibaly.

Poland. Representatives: Bohdan Tomorowicz; Jan Slowikowski.

Sierra Leone. Representatives: Christopher O. E. Cole (until August 1968); M. O. Cole.

Syria. Representative: George J. Tomeh. Alternates: Rafic Jouqjati; Dia-Allah El-Fattal; Abdallah El-Attrash; Issa Awad; Miss Bushra Kanafani (from September 1968).

Tunisia. Representatives: Mahmoud Mestiri, Chairman; Ahmed Chitourou; Mohamed Fourati; Hichem Ayoub; Hédi Drissi; Radwan Foudhaily.

<sup>6</sup> On 25 October 1968, following an announcement by the President of the General Assembly that Chile had withdrawn from the membership of the Special Committee, the Assembly confirmed the President's decision to appoint Ecuador to fill the resulting vacancy, with immediate effect.

<sup>7</sup> On 20 December 1968, following an announcement by the President of the General Assembly that Finland had decided to withdraw from the membership of the Special Committee with effect from 1 January 1969, the Assembly confirmed the President's decision to appoint Norway to fill the resulting vacancy.

USSR. Representative: Y. A. Malik. Alternate: P. F. Shakhov.

United Kingdom. Representative: Lord Curzon. Alternates: D. H. T. Hildyard; J. D. B. Shaw.

United Republic of Tanzania. Representatives: Akili B. C. Danieli; M. A. Fom.

United States. Representative: Seymour Maxwell Finger. Alternates: Richard E. Johnson (until September 1968); John Eaves, Jr.

Venezuela. Representatives: Manuel Pérez Guerrero, Vice-Chairman; Germán Nava Carrillo, Alternate; Gilberto Carrasquero (until March 1968).

Yugoslavia. Representative: Antun Vratuša. Alternates: Zivojin Jazic; Dragoslav Pejic.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In 1968, in addition to these, Sub-Committees I, II, and III and the Sub-Committee on Fiji were maintained, and another, the Sub-Committee on Oman, was established. Matters pertaining to territories which were not referred to its Sub-Committees were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

#### Subcommittee on petitions

Members in 1968: Chile (until October 1968) (Vice-Chairman), Ecuador (from 25 October 1968), India, Italy, Madagascar (Chairman), Mali, Poland, Syria.

#### Working Group of Special Committee of Twenty-Four

In 1968, the Working Group of the Special Committee of Twenty-four consisted of the Bureau of the Special Committee (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India,<sup>7a</sup> Iran, Italy, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (the representative of Tunisia), the Vice-Chairmen (the alternate representative of Iraq and the representative of Venezuela) and the Rapporteur<sup>7a</sup> (the alternate representative of India until June 1968; the representative of Afghanistan from June 1968).

#### Subcommittee I

Members in 1968: Chile (until October 1968), Mali, Sierra Leone (Chairman), Syria (Rapporteur), Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

#### Subcommittee II

Members in 1968: Afghanistan, Australia, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iraq (Chairman), Poland, United States.

#### Subcommittee III

Members in 1968: Bulgaria, Finland, Iran (Chairman), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Venezuela.

#### Subcommittee on Fiji

Members in 1968: Bulgaria, Chile (until October 1968) (Chairman), Finland, India, United Republic of Tanzania.

#### Subcommittee on Oman

Members in 1968: Iran, Iraq, Mali, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela. The Sub-Committee did not meet in 1968.

### MEMBERSHIP IN 1969

#### Members and Chief Representatives in 1969:

Afghanistan. Representatives: Abdur-Rahman Pazhwak; Abdul Samad Ghaus,<sup>8</sup> Rapporteur; Mir Abdul Wahab Siddiq; Abdul Ahad Nasser-Ziayee.

Australia.<sup>9</sup>

Bulgaria. Representatives: Milko Tarabanov; Luben Pentchev<sup>8</sup> (from May 1969); Dimitar Sabov (until March 1969); Dimitar S. Stanoev (from March 1969).

<sup>7a</sup> On 10 June 1968, the Special Committee elected Abdul Samad Ghaus (Afghanistan) to fill the unexpired term of office of its Rapporteur, C. R. Gharekhan (India), who had terminated his assignment in New York. Thus, Afghanistan replaced India as a member of the Bureau of the Special Committee. At the same meeting, the Committee decided that India should continue to serve as a member of the Working Group for the duration of 1968.

<sup>8</sup> Attended meetings held away from United Nations Headquarters, New York.

<sup>9</sup> By a letter of 23 January 1969, Australia informed the Secretary-General that it had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee. The resulting vacancy was not filled during 1969.

Ecuador. *Representative*: Leopoldo Benites.<sup>8</sup>  
 Ethiopia. *Representatives*: Lilj Endalkachew Makonnen; Kifle Wodajo. *Alternates*: Miss Konjit Sinoglogis; Berhane Deressa<sup>8</sup> (from 1 April 1969); Berhanu Bahita.<sup>8</sup>

Honduras. *Representatives*: Humberto López Villamil;<sup>8</sup> Salomón Jimenez Mungula; Mrs. Luz Bertrand de Bromley.

India. *Representative*: S. Sen. *Alternates*: A. S. Gonsalves; S. M. S. Chadha.<sup>8</sup>

Iran. *Representatives*: Mohsen S. Isfandiary (until February 1969); Houshang Amirmokri. *Alternate*: Farrokh Parsi.<sup>8</sup>

Iraq. *Representatives*: Adnan Raouf, *Vice-Chairman*; Mohamed R. Al-Jabiri; Ayad Munir; Ali Al-Hilli.<sup>8</sup>

Italy. *Representative*: Piero Vinel. *Alternates*: Massimo Castaldo;<sup>8</sup> Alessandro Quaroni; Mario Vittorio Zamboni.

Ivory Coast. *Representatives*: Siméon Aké; Amadou Traoré; Koffi Kouamé.<sup>8</sup>

Madagascar. *Representative*: Blaise Rabetafika. *Alternates*: Raymond Raelina (until March 1969); Gabriel Rakotonirainy (from 27 March 1969).

Mali. *Representatives*: Mamadou Boubacar Kanté; Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Aly<sup>8</sup> (until August 1969); Zana Dao (from 27 August 1969); Adama Mounery Maiga (from 27 August 1969).

Norway. *Representatives*: Edvard Hambro; Per Ravne;<sup>8</sup> Per Tresselt; Ketil Boerde.<sup>8</sup>

Poland. *Representatives*: Bohdan Tomorowicz; Jan Slowikowski (until June 1969); Tadeusz Strulak (from June 1969). *Alternates*: Edward Sablik; Stanislaw Pawluszewski;<sup>8</sup> Edward Szymanski.<sup>8</sup>

Sierra Leone. *Representatives*: Davidson Nicol; Malcolm O. Cole (until February 1969); F. B. Savage<sup>8</sup> (from March 1969); Charles E. Wyse (from April 1969).

Syria. *Representatives*: George J. Tomeh; Rafie Jouejati;<sup>8</sup> Dia-Allah El-Fattal. *Alternates*: Fathi El-Masri; Issa Awad; Najdi El-Jazzar.

Tunisia. *Representatives*: Mahmoud Mestiri<sup>8</sup> (until August 1969), *Chairman*; Ahmed Ohtourou; Mohamed Fourati; Hichem Ayoub; Hédi Drissi;<sup>8</sup> Radwan Foudhally.

USSR. *Representative*: V. I. Issraelyan. *Alternates*: P. F. Shakhov; V. I. Ustinyov<sup>8</sup> (until June 1969); A. I. Shechkov.<sup>8</sup>

United Kingdom. *Representative*: Lord Caradon. *Alternates*: David H. T. Hildyard; J. D. B. Shaw.

United Republic of Tanzania. *Representatives*: Akili B. C. Danieli; M. A. Foum (until August 1969); Waldo E. Waldron-Ramsey; C. S. M. Mselle (from June 1969); A. Diria Hassan;<sup>8</sup> Mbutta Mllando;<sup>8</sup> P. T. Nderumaki;<sup>8</sup> Christopher Ngilza.<sup>8</sup>

United States. *Representative*: Seymour Maxwell Finger. *Alternates*: John Eaves, Jr. (until July 1969); Frederick H. Sacksteder, Jr.

Venezuela. *Representatives*: Manuel Pérez Guerrero, *Vice-Chairman* (until February 1969); Germán Nava Carrillo, *Vice-Chairman* (from 19 March 1969), *Acting Chairman* (from September 1969). *Alternate*: Pedro Emilio Coll.

Yugoslavia. *Representative*: Anton Vratusa. *Alternates*: Zivojin Jazic; Drago-slav Pejic<sup>8</sup> (until July 1969); Aleksandar Psoneak (from July 1969).

During 1969, the Special Committee held meetings between 13 February and 28 April at United Nations Headquarters, New York; from 5 to 8 May at Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo; from 9 to 16 May at Lusaka, Zambia; from 19 to 23 May at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania; and between 5 June and 2 December at United Nations Headquarters, New York.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition to these, Sub-Committees I, II and III and the Sub-Committees on Fiji and on Oman were maintained in 1969. Matters pertaining to certain other territories which were not referred to its sub-committees were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

#### *Subcommittees on petitions*

Members in 1969: Ecuador, India, Italy, Madagascar, Mali (Chairman—until August 1969), Poland, Syria (Chairman—from 22 September 1969).

#### *Working group of the Special Committee*

In 1969, the Working Group of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples consisted of the Bureau of the Special Committee (the officers of the Special Committee) and the representatives of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Italy and the United Republic of Tanzania.

<sup>8</sup> Attended meetings held away from United Nations Headquarters, New York.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (the representative of Tunisia until August 1969; the representative of Venezuela from September 1969), the Vice-Chairmen (the representatives of Iraq and Venezuela) and the Rapporteur (the representative of Afghanistan).

#### *Subcommittee I*

Members in 1969: Ecuador, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria (Chairman), Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee II*

Members in 1969: Afghanistan (Rapporteur), Ethiopia (Chairman), Honduras, India, Iraq, Poland, United States.

#### *Subcommittee III*

Members in 1969: Bulgaria, Iran (Rapporteur), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Norway, Venezuela (Chairman).

#### *Subcommittee on Fiji*

Members in 1969: Bulgaria, Ecuador, India, Norway (Chairman), United Republic of Tanzania.

#### *Subcommittee on Oman*

Members in 1969: Iran, Iraq, Mali, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1970

##### *Members and Chief Representatives in 1970:*

Afghanistan. *Representatives*: Abdur-Rahman Pazhwak; Abdul Samad Chaus; Mohammad Hakim Aryabi; S. M. Farouk Farhang.

Bulgaria. *Representatives*: Milko Tarabanov; Baruch Grinberg (from 22 May 1970). *Alternates*: Gueorgui Minkov; Dimitar S. Stanoov.

Ecuador. *Representatives*: Leopoldo Benites, *Vice-Chairman*; Horacio Sevilla Borja.

Ethiopia. *Representatives*: Kifle Wodajo (until 28 September 1970); Berhane Deressa (until 27 October 1970); Yilma Tadesse.

Honduras. <sup>10</sup> *Representative*: F. Salomón Jiménez Mungula. *Alternate*: Mrs. Luz Bertrand de Bromley.

India. *Representatives*: S. Sen; J. S. Teja; S. M. S. Chadha, *Rapporteur*.

Iran. *Representative*: Assad K. Sudry. *Vice-Chairman*. *Alternates*: Farrokh Parsi; Parviz Mohajer.

Iraq. *Representatives*: Talib El-Shibib; Adnan Raouf; Adnan Attarbashi; Riyadh Al-Qaysi.

Italy. <sup>11</sup> *Representative*: Piero Vinel. *Alternates*: Massimo Castaldo; Alessandro Quaroni; Ramiro Ruggiero; Mario Vittorio Zamboni.

Ivory Coast. *Representatives*: Siméon Aké; Amadou Traoré; Koffi Kouamé; Ignace Yapi.

Madagascar. *Representatives*: Blaise Rabetafika; Mrs. Felice Rakotosiringsa; Moïse Rakotosihanaka.

Mali. *Representatives*: Seydou Traoré; Boubacar Kasse; Zana Dao; Adama Mounery Maiga (until 2 June 1970).

Norway. <sup>12</sup> *Representatives*: Per Ravne; Per Tresselt; Gunnar Flakstad; Håkon Hjelde.

Poland. *Representatives*: Eugeniusz Kulaga; Leszek Kasprzyk; Tadeusz Strulak; Henryk Mikucki.

Sierra Leone. *Representatives*: Davidson S. H. W. Nicol, *Chairman*; F. B. Savage; C. E. Wyse; M. B. Ganda; O. W. Harding.

Syria. *Representatives*: George J. Tomeh; Rafie Jouejati; Dia-Allah El-Fattal; Najdi Jazzar.

Tunisia. *Representatives*: Rachid Driss; Mohamed Fourati; Kamel Belkhiria.

USSR. *Representatives*: P. F. Shakhov (until 23 March 1970); I. G. Neklessa.

United Kingdom. *Representative*: Lord Caradon. *Alternates*: David H. T. Hildyard; J. D. B. Shaw (until 31 July 1970).

<sup>10</sup> By a note verbale dated 5 November 1970, Honduras informed the President of the General Assembly that it had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee with effect from the end of the 1970 session.

<sup>11</sup> By a letter dated 2 December 1970, Italy informed the Secretary-General that it had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee with effect from 1 January 1971.

<sup>12</sup> By a letter dated 2 December 1970, Norway informed the President of the General Assembly that it had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee with effect from 31 December 1970.

United Republic of Tanzania, Representatives: Salim A. Salim (from 2 June 1970); C. S. M. Melle; Ismat Abdulwahid Steiner.

United States, Representative: Seymour Maxwell Finger, Alternate: Frederick II. Sacksteder, Jr.

Venezuela: Representatives: Andrés Aguilar; Germán Nava Carrillo, Alternate: Pedro E. Coll.

Yugoslavia, Representatives: Lazar Mojsov; Zivojin Jazic; Aleksander Paoneak; Radomir Zecevic.

On 17 December 1970, the President of the General Assembly nominated Fiji, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago to fill three of four existing or imminent vacancies on the Special Committee.

The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working group. In addition to these Sub-Committees I, II and III and the Sub-Committees on Fiji and on Oman were maintained in 1970. Territories which were not referred to its sub-committees were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

Members in 1970: Ecuador, India, Italy, Madagascar, Mali, Poland (Chairman), Syria.

#### *Working group*

In 1970, the Working Group of the Special Committee consisted of the officers of the Special Committee and the delegations of Bulgaria, Iraq, Italy, Madagascar, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela.

The Bureau consisted of the following officers of the Special Committee: the Chairman (the representative of Sierra Leone), the Vice-Chairman (the representatives of Ecuador and Iran) and the Rapporteur (the representative of India).

#### *Subcommittee I*

Members in 1970: Ecuador, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria (Chairman), Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia (Rapporteur).

#### *Subcommittee II*

Members in 1970: Afghanistan (Rapporteur), Ethiopia (Chairman), Honduras, India, Iraq, Poland, United States.

#### *Subcommittee III*

Members in 1970: Bulgaria, Iran (Rapporteur), Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar (Chairman), Norway, Venezuela.

#### *Subcommittee on Fiji*

Members in 1970: Bulgaria, Ecuador, India, Norway (Chairman), United Republic of Tanzania.

#### *Subcommittee on Oman*

Members in 1970: Iran, Iraq, Mali, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1971

Members in 1971: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, USSR, United Kingdom<sup>13</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, United States,<sup>13</sup> Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Chairman: German Nava Carrillo (Venezuela).

Vice Chairman: Barouh Grinberg (Bulgaria), Rafic Jouejati (Syrian Arab Republic).

Rapporteur: Yilma Tadesse (Ethiopia).

On 20 December 1971, the President of the General Assembly nominated China, Indonesia, and Czechoslovakia to fill three of the four existing vacancies on the Special Committee, with immediate effect.

The Select Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition, Sub-Committees I, II, and III were maintained in 1971. Territories not referred to Sub-Committees I, II, or III were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

<sup>13</sup> By letters of 11 January 1971, the United Kingdom and the United States inform the President of the General Assembly that they had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee, with immediate effect.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

Members in 1971: Ecuador (Chairman), India, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic.

#### *Working group*

In 1971, the Working Group of the Special Committee consisted of Ecuador, India, Madagascar, Sweden, and the United Republic of Tanzania, and the officers of the Special Committee.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Subcommittee I*

Members in 1971: Mali, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic (Chairman), Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania (Rapporteur), Yugoslavia.

#### *Subcommittee II*

Members in 1971: Afghanistan (Chairman), Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Iraq, Poland.

#### *Subcommittee III*

Members in 1971: Bulgaria, Iran, (Chairman), Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago (Rapporteur).

#### *Special Committee on Apartheid<sup>15</sup>*

Members in 1971: Algeria, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian SSR.

Chairman: Abdulrahim A. Farah (Somalia).

Vice Chairman: M. D. Polyanihko (Ukrainian SSR); Raoul Stelait (Haiti).

Rapporteur: Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal).

On 10 January 1971, the President of the General Assembly informed the Secretary-General that he had appointed Guatemala as the fifth of seven new members authorized by an Assembly decision of 8 December 1970 enlarging the Committee. Two of the seven authorized seats remained unfilled in 1971.

#### *Subcommittee on petitions*

Members in 1971: Algeria (Chairman), Guatemala, India, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, Ukrainian SSR.

#### *Subcommittee on information on Apartheid*

Members in 1971: Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia (Chairman), Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago.

#### *Working Group*

Members in 1971: Abdulrahim A. Farah, Chairman of the Special Committee (Somalia); M.D. Polyanihko, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee (Ukrainian SSR); Raoul Stelait, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee (Haiti); Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Rapporteur of the Special Committee (Nepal); Ahmed Ouelf, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions (Algeria); Yeop Adlan-Rose, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid (Malaysia).

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1972

Members in 1972: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador,<sup>16</sup> Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar,<sup>16</sup> Mali, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

On 8 December 1972, the General Assembly confirmed the nomination of Chile and the Congo to fill two of the three existing vacancies on the Special Committee.

Chairman: Salim A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania).

Vice-Chairmen: Frank O. Abdullah (Trinidad and Tobago), Ilja Hulinsky (Czechoslovakia).

<sup>14</sup> On 14 September 1971, the Special Committee decided that in the view of the departure from United Nations Headquarters of its Chairman (Venezuela) and Vice-Chairman (Bulgaria), Bulgaria and Venezuela should serve as members of the Working Group.

<sup>15</sup> On 8 December 1970, the General Assembly approved a recommendation of the Special Political Committee to shorten the title of the Committee. It was formerly called the "Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa."

<sup>16</sup> By a letter of 1 January 1972, Madagascar informed the Secretary-General that it had decided to withdraw from membership of the Special Committee, with immediate effect. By a letter dated 13 October 1972, Ecuador informed the President of the General Assembly of a similar decision.

Rapporteur: Mohammed Hakim Aryubi (Afghanistan).  
The Special Committee has a Sub-Committee on Petitions and a Working Group. In addition, Sub-Committees I, II and III were maintained in 1972. Territories not referred to Sub-Committees I, II or III were taken up at plenary meetings of the Special Committee.

#### Subcommittee on petitions

Members in 1972: Bulgaria, Ecuador (Chairman), India, Indonesia, Mali (Vice-Chairman), Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic.

#### Working Group

In 1972, the Working Group of the Special Committee consisted of Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Sweden and Tunisia, and the four officers of the Special Committee.

#### Subcommittee I

Members in 1972: China, Mali, Sierra Leone (Rapporteur), Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia (Chairman), USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia.

#### Subcommittee II

Members in 1972: Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Fiji (Rapporteur), India (Chairman), Indonesia, Iraq.

#### Subcommittee III

Members in 1972: Bulgaria, Iran (Chairman), Ivory Coast, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela.

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1973 <sup>17</sup>

Afghanistan	Iraq
Australia	Ivory Coast
Bulgaria	Mali
Chile	Sierra Leone
China	Sweden
Congo	Syrian Arab Republic
Czechoslovakia	Trinidad and Tobago
Ethiopia	Tunisia
Fiji	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
India	United Republic of Tanzania
Indonesia	Venezuela
Iran	Yugoslavia

#### MEMBERSHIP IN 1974 <sup>18</sup>

Afghanistan	Iraq
Australia	Ivory Coast
Bulgaria	Mali
Chile	Sierra Leone
China	Sweden
Congo	Syrian Arab Republic
Czechoslovakia	Trinidad and Tobago
Ethiopia	Tunisia
Fiji	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
India	United Republic of Tanzania
Indonesia	Venezuela
Iran	Yugoslavia

<sup>17</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, Official Records: 28th session, Supplement No. 23, volume I, (U.N. document no. A/2823/Rev. I, p. 10).

<sup>18</sup> U.N. document number: A/2823, Part I, p. 13.

[From Puerto Rico Libre, January 1975]

#### A YEAR OF COLONIAL CRISIS

Below are highlights of news published in Puerto Rico Libre during 1974. This bird's-eye-view shows a colony in the throes of increasing economic crisis and the response to that crisis from the workers movement and independence forces. 1974

also stands out as a year of growing support for Puerto Rican independence from all over the United States.

January: Energy Crisis Hits Puerto Rico—fuel prices skyrocket. Despite major shortages, Public Law No. 4 authorizing ELA to regulate export of oil is ignored. Students at Inter-American University at Hato Rey On Strike after riot police launch brutal attack on San German campus, injuring 80 students.

February: 4,400 Truckers On Strike for higher wages, solidarity strikes throughout the island. Federation of Teachers on Strike for the first time on the island, demanding higher wages and collective bargaining rights for all public employees. General Strike in Department of Transportation and Public Works, demand higher wages, collective bargaining. Police Intervention at University of Puerto Rico, five wounded in demonstration against Rector, Inmates Seize La Princesa Prison, penitentiary stormed by police three days later.

March: Claridad attacked by Terrorists, five wounded. Hernandez Colon Announces West Coast Site for Superport, U.S. Navy wants Mona; New Penal Code Submitted to Legislature calling for institutionalized repression; Puerto Rico Office at U.N. Opened.

April: Sen. Jackson Terms Puerto Rico "War Booty" belonging by "right of conquest" to U.S. Pittsburgh Plate Glass Leaks Chlorine Gas, hospitalizing five.

May: AMAX, Kennecott, to Sign Deal for Puerto Rican Copper, say sources close to Governor. Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee Issues Call for National Demonstration at Madison Square Garden, October 27, in support of Puerto Rican Independence. U.S. Environmentalists, including Barry Commoner, Oppose Puerto Rican Superport.

June: Super-Sellout Revealed by Independence movement, show plans for takeover of entire island by U.S. heavy industry; 97 Indian Tribes Support Puerto Rican Independence at International Indian Treaty Council.

July: Dept. of Resources Chief Cruz Matos Fired for opposition to mining contract with AMAX, Kennecott.

August: ELA Monitoring Independence Activities, reveals Gov. Hernandez; Cuban Unemployment in P.R. Zero, reveals Puerto Rican Labor Department, while island official rate hits 12%.

September: Light-Bill Boycott Becomes Island-Wide, protesting high electricity rates for Puerto Ricans, low rates for U.S. corporations. National Black Support Committee for Puerto Rican Independence Formed. Leading Congressional Black Caucus Members Support Puerto Rican Independence.

October: 20,000 Demand Independence for Puerto Rico at Madison Square Garden-6,000 from all over country; 5,000 Rally in San Francisco and Los Angeles for Puerto Rican Independence. Independence Leaders Speak at U.N., accuse U.S. of genocide. ILWU, Local 6, Supports Puerto Rican Independence.

November: Workers Strike Against AAA, leaders jailed then released; National Guard mobilized against strikers. Pro-Independence Daily Starts Publication—Claridad becomes daily after 15 years of uninterrupted weekly publication. FOMENTO Announces Plan to Begin Superport Construction by end of next year.

December: Bombings Against U.S. Corporations during AAA Strike; Puerto Rican Socialist Party Member Arrested on Bombing Charges in attempt to link independence movement with bombings, 75 more arrests to come say police.

#### CARLOS FELICIANO JAILED AFTER FOUR-YEAR FIGHT

New York, December 13.—After years of fighting what the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano terms "a government frame-up", Carlos Feliciano, leading member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was forced to begin serving a four-year sentence today for alleged possession of a pistol and explosives.

Judge Frankman, the presiding Judge of Feliciano's 1973 trial, refused to delay sentence and sent Carlos to prison after Feliciano's petition to have his appeal heard by the New York State Court of Appeals was turned down. In remanding Carlos to custody, he ignored the 17 months Carlos had already served awaiting trial because of excessive bail.

Attorney William Kunstler announced that he would file an immediate appeal on the inequality of Carlos' sentence under the discriminatory bail system.

"Although Carlos did go to jail, his sentence must be seen as a victory" said a representative of the Defense Committee. "Originally up on charges that would have jailed him for life, Carlos was declared the victim of a police conspiracy and declared innocent in one trial, and declared innocent of major charges in another. The sentence he is serving now is the result of a compromise verdict, and is minimal."



Observers feel that the political defense of Carlos Feliciano by thousands across the country was instrumental in this victory.

#### FBI ARRESTS PSP MEMBER ON BOMBING CHARGE

PONCE, Dec. 14: In an attempt to discredit the independence movement which has been actively supporting the controversial strike by workers of the Waterworks and Sewer Authority (AAA), a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Delfin Ramos, was arrested here today by the FBI on charges of possessing explosive material and is being held on \$100,000 bail.

The FBI and the local police agency have been searching the homes of PSP members in the Ponce area during the last 11 days to find evidence which would link the PSP with the bombing of U.S. companies and military installations which occurred during the strike of the AAA workers.

Although a search of the Ramos house earlier this week found no explosives and constant vigilance has been maintained since that day, FBI agents claim to have found explosive material when they entered the house during the absence of the Ramos family today.

The complaint against Ramos cited seventy-five others involved in the bombings and police say more arrests are pending.

[From World Magazine, May 3, 1975]

#### WORLD FOCUS ON FREEDOM FOR PUERTO RICO

[Following is the text of remarks by Anthony Montelro at the Preparatory Meeting in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence, held in Havana, Cuba, March 30-31. Montelro, executive secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, was a member of the U.S. delegation, which included Helen Winter and Roque Ristorecci, American Committee of the World Peace Council; and Arthur Kinoy and Frances Beal, Committee of Solidarity with Puerto Rico. The International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico is scheduled for September 5-7 in Havana.]

(By Anthony Montelro)

Allow me, first, on behalf of the delegation of the United States Peace Council, to express our gratitude to the Cuban Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of the Peoples, and the Cuban people for the extraordinary hospitality extended to us in these past days. Their cordiality has made possible this truly historic meeting.

Comrades: The U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico attests to the barbaric character of the present ruling circles in our country. The facts—which I need not repeat—shatter the demagoguery of U.S. imperialist propaganda to the effect that the imperialism rooted in the U.S. is somehow different, somehow democratic and peaceful. The Puerto Rican case is without question that of a classical colony. Here the world's peoples witness examples of perhaps the most savage oppression in our hemisphere. This shameful oppression originates in our country, is carried out by the imperialism based in the U.S. For this reason, comrades, we of the U.S. delegation wholeheartedly endorse this preparatory meeting and the proposed Congress for Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico. This meeting and the proposed Congress which place the independence of Puerto Rico on the top of the agenda of humanity's aspirations is evidence of the universality of the struggle which is now being waged by the Puerto Rican people. Also created is the opportunity for the broadest popular opinion of our planet to express itself for Puerto Rican independence. Therefore, we are today initiating a tremendous worldwide mass movement which can enrich and speed the implementation of UN Resolution 1514, and the UN Resolution calling for the de-colonization of Puerto Rico. The decisions of governments can now become the property of the peoples.

But we welcome, and recognize as quite appropriate, the initiative of the World Peace Council. For, in our opinion, the global struggle for peace is the point of intersection of the most noble aspirations of all the people. The struggle for and attainment of detente and peaceful coexistence are strategic to the process of liquidating the remaining remnants of colonialism, of defeating fascism and militarism, of creating a positive international environment for the acceleration of

the struggles for democracy and social progress. It is, however, also true that the realization of detente as an irreversible process leading to peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems is possible only as colonial oppression is terminated. Hence, national freedom and global peace are parts of a single whole. Colonization, and the colonial domination of Puerto Rico in particular, is therefore a threat to world peace, as well as a violation of international law and contemporary norms guiding the relationships between peoples.

The new correlation of world forces, which is made possible in the first place by the strength and growing unity of the world system of socialist states, headed by the mighty Soviet Union, creates extraordinarily favorable circumstances for the independence struggle within Puerto Rico and building international solidarity with the Puerto Rican people. U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico is today incompatible with this new global correlation of forces. Moreover, the elevation of the Puerto Rican independence struggle further weakens U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico and is providing the decisive link that will break the chain of U.S. colonial oppression of Puerto Rico. The world embraces the just and noble struggle of the Puerto Rican people.

Comrades, allow us to be quite frank. This meeting is decisively important to the people of the United States. The actions of the U.S. people are important. Because it is U.S. imperialism that imposes colonial domination on the Puerto Rican people, the fulfillment of our responsibility is fundamental.

U.S. imperialism seeks to preserve colonialism in Puerto Rico as a strategic beachhead in the policy of neo-colonial containment of the Latin American liberation process. In fact, this neo-colonial aggression is an attempt to roll back the historic gains of the Latin American peoples, and in the first place, to liquidate socialism in Cuba, the first land of freedom on our hemisphere. This policy orients upon the militarization of Puerto Rico as a step to the militarization of the entire continent, as a base for counter-revolution, reaction and anti-Communism. U.S. imperialism plans to utilize Puerto Rico as a staging area for the liquidation of popular democratic governments of the continent, as in Santo Domingo. This policy is evidenced in its most criminal and brutal expression in the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government in Chile, and the murder of Dr. Salvador Allende.

The Ford-Rockefeller-Kissinger Administration is proposing to the Congress a criminal \$105 billion "defense" budget. This proposal has outraged the overwhelming majority of the people of the United States. This new budget is proposed at a time of deep economic crisis in our country, of the quaking deterioration of the standard of life of the working people. Therefore the opposition is intense. The hatred of the proposed war budget will be mobilized at a Conference to be held this coming weekend in Chicago, Ill. called by the National Conference for a Drastic Cutback in the Military Budget.<sup>1</sup>

But it is obvious that a significant portion of the war budget is for the deepening of colonialism in Puerto Rico and to strengthen the military presence there of U.S. imperialism. In this sense, then, the U.S. people's intense opposition to this war budget is objectively a special point of opposition to U.S. colonialism and aggression against Puerto Rico. The opposition to the military budget must become a conscious opposition to colonialism in Puerto Rico. The peace demands of the U.S. people therefore must embrace the independence demand of the Puerto Rican people.

In our country two million Puerto Rican people share with 40 million Black, Chicano, Native American and Asian American people a common racial and national oppression inside the U.S. These two million, who suffer the worst exploitation and racist oppression in our country, are there because they were driven from Puerto Rico. However, 42 million racially and nationally oppressed are united in a common struggle against racism and for national freedom. This union of aspiration creates a brotherhood and sisterhood that links itself to the quest for the independence of Puerto Rico. This lays the basis certainly for a common struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The working people of the United States are experiencing an historic economic crisis. A corporate monopoly imposed crisis. The same corporations that are ravaging the Puerto Rican nation burden the U.S. people with an economic depression. Here lies the objective basis for the U.S. working people to embrace the cause of Puerto Rican independence. The \$9 billion investment in Puerto Rico is a direct manifestation of this crisis as well as a manifestation of the effort to maintain

<sup>1</sup>This conference was held in Chicago, April 5-6. Among the speakers were Dr. Spock; Patricia Coward, YWEL; Anne Braden; Prof. Harold Rogers, African American Solidarity Committee.

the super-exploitation of the workers of the USA. In fact, this investment which today burdens Puerto Rico with a crisis of horrific dimensions is a two-edged sword. It exploits and is the basis of the oppression of the working people of both countries, as well as of the super-exploitation of the Puerto Rican workers on the island of Puerto Rico and those in the barrios of the major U.S. cities. It is also the source of the terrible unemployment and degradation of the Puerto Rican people on the island and in the U.S. It is the source of the growing unemployment and inflation which is being experienced by the entire U.S. working class.

Today, a vast movement of women has emerged in our country. A movement in which the women of the nationally oppressed Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian and Puerto Rican peoples play a mounting role. These nationally oppressed women recognize through their real life experience the effects of genocide and sterilization.

Just as there is forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women in Puerto Rico, so in the Black communities, the Puerto Rican barrios and the Indian reservations of the United States, sterilization is a policy of the government. It is a hated, racist policy which is genocidal and geared to the oppression, in particular, of non-white women in the U.S.

Just as the women and men of our country oppose it in the U.S., they must and do oppose it in Puerto Rico.

The crisis of capitalism in the U.S. leads to the rapid corrosion of the political system of our country, releasing a terrible wave of repression which is symbolized by Watergate—that is the attempt by neofascists in the top echelons of government to destroy bourgeois democracy in the U.S. Many whose only crime is to struggle for justice are placed in jail. Many in our country learned the true nature of our government through the case and struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis. Those lessons are today applied to the struggle for the freedom of the nationalist political prisoners of Puerto Rico. The struggle that freed Angela Davis and other political prisoners in our country is a base for mounting a struggle to free the Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners, for ending political repression in Puerto Rico.

As we approach the 200th anniversary of the Revolutionary War of Independence of the U.S. from England, we are demanding an end to U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico.

Comrades, our people are quickly coming to recognize that freedom is indivisible. The indivisibility of freedom and justice is a fundamental law of our age. This recognition is becoming part of the consciousness of the U.S. people. For this reason, many today recognize the cause of Puerto Rico as our cause, as the basis for the extension of our liberty. In fact, many see the organic character of our peoples struggles.

We are certain that the independence movement in Puerto Rico will be successful. We are certain that the peoples of Puerto Rico and the people of the USA will be joined in a common struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

Let us say, comrades, the U.S. people and the U.S. working class are quite capable of fulfilling its duty to the people of Puerto Rico and of the world.

We assure you we will quicken the pace of our efforts to meet our historic responsibility. To our comrades and to the people of Puerto Rico, of Chile, Cuba, and all of Latin America, to the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, of Korea, to the peoples of the Mid East, Africa and to the peoples of all continents, we, the U.S. peace movement, pledge our enhanced activity in our common cause of liberation, these actions, our dear comrades will be our common witness of the death of U.S. imperialism.

#### COLONIALISM'S LEGACY

[Following are excerpts of remarks by Juan Martinello, president of the Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples.]

My mission this morning will be limited to expressing, on behalf of the Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples, the satisfaction and gratitude with which we, in liberated Cuba, welcome the representatives of international entities of the greatest importance and personalities of outstanding prestige, congregated for the most noble of purposes, that of proclaiming the right of the people of Puerto Rico to its full and true independence and of working in close union in order to achieve it.

The struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, dream and hope of Simón Bolívar and José Martí and the task of men like Betances, Hostos and Albizu Campos, has shown as no other the unchangeable malignity of an anti-human regime and the immortality of the popular will destined to defeat it.

As the best witnesses, the Puerto Rican comrades, shall be the ones to offer us the somber picture of their stricken country. They shall tell us about an economic structure which has been advancing, with no respite, towards the miserable exhaustion of the whole of the island's population.

They will inform us that in a country of nine thousand square kilometers, imperialism has invested nine thousand million dollars, that is, one million per square kilometer; they will tell us that in such a small territory Yankee monopolies have invested more capital than in all of Latin America and only less than in Canada; they will show us, with bulky evidence, that such a modest space occupies fourth place among U.S. export markets. And as the main strategic line, that of turning the island—occupied territory—into the great bridge for their trade supremacy on the continent.

The ruthlessness of foreign domination in Puerto Rico reaches such a point that the oil companies have carried the industrial processes that cause mass intoxication to the island, while transferring the non-polluting operations to the United States. To this monstrous lack of sensitivity we must add the campaign to sterilize Puerto Rican women, which has already reached an enormously high percentage. The systematic attack against health and life offers us the latest measure of the perverseness attacked by imperialist actions.

We have always believed that the Puerto Rican case is the final proof of how closely the struggle for peace is linked with the struggle for national independence. There it can be seen that the subjection of an entire people is for the sole purpose of dominating all the peoples by means of economic penetration or war, which are two different faces of the same policy.

Undeniably, and in the face of all hindrances, detente and peaceful coexistence progress and succeed. The growing peace consciousness which wins more and more supporters every day, the liberation struggle of the colonized peoples and the firm and clear peace policy of the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union in the vanguard, have produced the change toward detente. This breakthrough in our efforts impels us to fight harder than ever against the remaining war threats and dangers.

If all the peoples have an equal responsibility in the task of defeating the war-mongering oppressors, decisive collaboration is to be expected from the peoples of the United States. The day will come, when the magnitude of the effort carried out there in support of the Vietnamese people will be measured with precision and justice. We are sure that, continuing this beautiful task, our brothers and sisters in the United States will carry out decisive action for the liberation of Puerto Rico.

#### WORLD SOLIDARITY AGAINST COLONIALISM

[Following are excerpts from a message of the World Peace Council to the solidarity conference.]

The World Peace Council has struggled senselessly, on the basis of its principles, for the elimination of all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination.

The World Peace Council, together with the support of the National Committees in more than a hundred countries throughout the world, has been giving special attention to the Latin American peoples' struggle for their full sovereignty and for the retrieval of their natural resources in the hands of transnational companies, and it condemns the existence of colonies under the domination of the United States, Great Britain and Holland, such as Puerto Rico, Surinam, Belize, Aruba, Curacao, Malvinas Islands, Martinique, Guyana, Guadalupe, Santa Lucia, Antigua, Bermuda, Virgin Islands and others, and also calls for the elimination of the colonial enclave called the Panama Canal Zone.

In the particular case of Puerto Rico, the World Peace Council has offered and continues to offer its support of the Puerto Rican people's struggle for their independence.

It has been pointed out how Puerto Rico, as a national entity, has been deprived juridically, politically, economically, socially, culturally, and territorially, of its legitimate right to self-determination, and as a sovereign country, of the right to be a part of the world's community of nations.

We have censured the manner in which, through the fiction of a "Free Associated State," it is being deprived of the few rights it had as a nation.

We have indicated how imperialism has tried to erase its aboriginal cultural elements by penetrating the culture through the imposition of foreign educational systems which do not adjust to their idiosyncrasy.

Figures have clearly shown how the U.S. companies sack the country's riches, distort its economy and exploit its workers by maintaining them under a colonial status in which their wages are inferior to those of U.S. workers.

The World Peace Council has denounced the violation of human rights and demands the freedom of Latin America's oldest political prisoners, Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa, Irvin Flores and Rafael Canceel Miranda, Puerto Rican patriots who fight for their country's independence.

We are now firmly convinced that the time has come to extend this solidarity to higher levels, uniting it in a huge world public opinion movement that will make effective the implementation of the decolonization demands approved by the UN with regards to the colonial situation of Puerto Rico.

#### PUERTO RICAN ADDRESSES CONFERENCE OPENING SESSION

[Speech made by unidentified Puerto Rican, introduced as president of the Puerto Rican Observer Delegation, at opening session of Nonaligned Countries coordinating bureau conference held at Atlantic Hotel, Santa Maria del Mar, Havana Province.] The speaker may be Fermín Arraiza.

Mr. President, members of the Nonaligned Movement executive bureau. First of all we again express our gratitude for the hospitality and courtesy of the fraternal revolutionary Cuban people and we reaffirm our gratitude for their consistent attitude in the fraternal revolutionary struggle of our peoples which goes back more than a century.

On behalf of the martyrs and heroes of that joint struggle and of the heroes and martyrs from the joint struggle in all the countries of the world represented here, and the national liberation movements in all continents, we want to make a solemn call on this conference, as a solemn beginning in the agenda of the Non-aligned Movement, for the immediate future: Puerto Rico today requires with increasing urgency the active solidarity of the world's anticolonialist forces.

Our liberation struggle is growing in all sectors of revolutionary action for independence and recovery of our national patrimony. But U.S. imperialism, defeated economically and militarily in its different fronts of aggression against the world, wants to deploy toward Latin America by consolidating fascism in Chile and colonialism in Puerto Rico. Fascism in Chile is the base of operations of U.S. imperialism against the southern cone countries, just as colonialism in Puerto Rico—with military, economic and political control—is, along with the colonial enclave in the Panama Canal Zone, the strategic base of operations for Yankee imperialism against all of Latin America.

The Washington government plans to consolidate a militarized police in the Puerto Rican colonial administration. It expands the presence of its armies and military bases. It introduces new forms of political espionage through the CIA and the FBI. It is getting ready to implement a depopulation plan in Puerto Rico by expanding the forced exile of Puerto Ricans to U.S. ghettos and to U.S. feudal farms. At the same time, it develops plans for massive sterilization of the female population as a method of colonialist genocide. And finally, it seeks by all means to defeat the people's resistance in order to fully carry out the plundering of the big mineral deposits such as copper, nickel, manganese and others in the hands of transnational companies.

Our anticolonialist struggle is more than a century old, first against Spanish control and then against U.S. control. In Puerto Rico, just as in any colony, there is an institutionalized state of war. We, as all the peoples in colonies, have exercised our historic right to a liberation war. However, the specific details of the brutal colonial domination of our people have forced us to develop a struggle strategy in which victory of the liberation war goes hand in hand with the fundamental survival of our political and revolutionary organization in all sectors.

If U.S. imperialism has attempted to do anything, it has been to break the balance of the Puerto Rican liberation forces in order to be able to break the balance of the people, the working class, the nationality. That is why there is continuous provocation to break the balance of political mass action which we develop within the precarious colonial legality. At the same time, terrorist attacks

are undertaken by the colonial extreme rightists against our militants and our political and labor work centers. These attacks are led by fascist mobs which are fronts for the CIA and the U.S. Army. While all this is happening with impunity, attempts are being planned against the principal leaders of the liberation movement and against the principal labor and political leaders in the vanguard actions of the masses.

So far we have survived all the imperialist plots to defeat our struggle. Our commitment with our people and with the world liberation movement is unconditionally sealed at the risk of our own lives. But the liberation of Puerto Rico, which is our task and one which we proclaim as our exclusive right to carry it out, requires the active, firm and determined solidarity of all of mankind's progressive and liberating forces.

The existing brutal disproportion between the colonial forces of aggression and our national liberation forces requires the rest of mankind that are in solidarity with liberation of peoples to compensate for this imbalance with their material support and militant effort to help develop the national liberation war in Puerto Rico with all the possible physical and material means of each country.

The elemental action of historic justice for condemning the Yankee colonial crime against Puerto Rico in all of humanity's forums is becoming increasingly imminent. Each day the political states which now are free and defeated colonial control have the commitment, along with the political and revolutionary states in the entire world, to make theirs the demand for independence of Puerto Rico as a matter of inviolable, unrenounceable and unavoidable principles. It is becoming increasingly urgent to openly defeat the blackmail which the Yankee government wants to impose on the rest of the world's countries, threatening with some sort of sanctions if the colonial domination of Puerto Rico is discussed or denounced.

That Washington desperation in its obsession with imperialist domination of Puerto Rico responds to the real fact that the independence of Puerto Rico will violently shake the bases of U.S. economic, political and military domination over the Caribbean and in Latin America and the internal basis of economic exploitation which the United States employs against its own people. In the face of that blackmail which Yankee imperialism wants to impose on the rest of the world's countries trying to buy silence with threats, mankind's commitment is to raise Puerto Rico's independence to the top of the agenda of world liberation, without lessening solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who still suffer from the colonial aggression, but equalizing assistance to Puerto Rico along with that provided to the rest of these fraternal peoples. Because just as the independence of these peoples will help ours, our independence also will help the other fraternal peoples.

Puerto Rico's independence is, perhaps, one of the strategic objectives of the world liberation force and of the world's anticolonialist forces, because the proclamation of our independence could be the spark that will start the victorious struggle for the second and true independence of the exploited and discriminated people of the United States of America.

Cuba has been a vanguard in the international struggle of solidarity for independence of Puerto Rico. The Nonaligned Movement, the United Nations, and the movement of the forces for peace and sovereignty of peoples have reiterated on several occasions the Puerto Rican people's inalienable right to independence, to the release of their political prisoners, to the preservation of their natural resources and to the demilitarization of their territory and protection of their territorial and national integrity.

We now must demand internal inspection of Puerto Rico by the international community to see the situation of colonial domination and exploitation which our people are suffering. We must develop, based on that internal inspection of the colonial illegality, a decolonization program which must begin with a direct and concrete demand from the Washington government to make an immediate and unquestionable transfer of sovereign powers to the Puerto Rican people.

We must draft a detailed and broad plan on concrete decolonization measures which must begin with a demand for demilitarization of the Puerto Rican territory, dismantling of all the U.S. military and nuclear bases, and of all types—bases of aggression against Latin America, Indochina, the Mideast and Africa; and ordering the removal of its intervention troops and its repressive agencies such as the CIA and the FBI; and guaranteeing the necessary measures for indemnization and control of capital that are indispensable for the transition from colony to republic.

We now must raise solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico to a superior level, to a new phase. It is imperative that declarations of solidarity with independence for our people from this and other progressive forums in the world become part of the foreign policy of each political, independent, liberated, progressive and revolutionary state. Cuba has done it that way fulfilling the historic mandate of Martí and Betances and responding with honor to the solidarity of Puerto Rican patriots who gave their lives in the Cuban independence war, with the liberation of the Caribbean as the immediate objective and then continue their program for liberation of Puerto Rico.

Cuba has done it for the brotherhood of the Caribbean, for the socialist and revolutionary brotherhood which makes Cuba in solidarity with the liberation of the world's peoples. Cuba has done it on principles. Amid the blockade and isolation which imperialism has tried to impose on it, Cuba has responded with David's sling against Goliath, with the accurate blow of unconditional solidarity with the independence of the Puerto Rican people.

This, among all the great achievements of this revolution, has earned for Cuba the respect of even U.S. imperialists. Today we request the rest of the world's countries to follow the example of Cuba, to make theirs the cause of independence of Puerto Rico, to assume the political commitment at the level of state and government to help our struggle, to make real the right to help, to make a declaration of solidarity and promise of support.

We assume, on behalf of our people in legitimate representation of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement, the historic commitment of responding, before and after our independence, with the same solidarity that today we request, within the capabilities of our people.

Once more we want to cite at this conference, as we have done in other progressive forums of mankind, the historic judgment of the immortal commander Guevara: Puerto Rico is the acid test for antiimperialists. He understood in his profound historic vision—as an unswerving revolutionary, man without faults, and citizen of the world—that the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico raises for the other antiimperialist peoples and governments the challenge and the threat of the haughty Yankee imperialists as a decisive test of the principles which define the fighters for independence of peoples.

Once more we want to call attention to the significant fact that there is not a single area in the problems to be discussed here and there is not a single topic here which is not dramatically represented and in existence in the colonial situation of our people. There is no foreign trade law more unequal than the ones Washington has imposed on Puerto Rico and the same holds for its coastal shipping laws, imposition of its merchant marine, and all its commercial laws. There is no greater risk for the preservation of the natural resources of a people than the risk Puerto Rico is facing with the threat of exploitation of its mining and marine resources, including oil near our coasts.

There is no greater indiscriminate commercial speculation on the part of transnational companies than the speculation by these monopolies with the economic life of our people, to the point that a working people like ours is maintaining in constant production a direct Yankee capital investment of \$9 billion. We do the work and the Yankees take the benefits. We are their second biggest market in America and fifth in the world, all this makes us think increasingly more deeply on how the struggle of our people must be backed and the struggle of other peoples against colonial oppression.

We, and all national liberation movements represented here, must be part of all groups and structures of this Nonaligned Movement—such as the solidarity fund—so that its benefits can be extended to all members of the Nonaligned Movement in proportion to the needs of each state and each national liberation movement.

Once more we express our brotherhood and unconditional solidarity with the fraternal Palestinian, Indochinese, South African peoples, and all who at this time are waging in Latin America and in the entire world a heroic struggle against colonialism, apartheid, Zionism, fascism and neocolonialism. In the hope that the independence of our people also will be your historic patrimony and that this is increasingly shown more firmly, we reaffirm our reciprocal solidarity and our will to fight as the legitimate representatives of the national liberation movement of our people. Fatherland or death. We will win.

## PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST: COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS

The Puerto Rican colonial state is going through a total crisis as a result of the worsening effect of the world capitalist crisis, aggravation of that crisis in the United States, and the colonial relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States. Fermín Balthazar Arraiza, head of the Puerto Rican Socialist party observer delegation to the third nonaligned countries coordinating bureau meeting has made this statement during a press conference.

He said the economic bases upon which the Puerto Rican colonial government was established and the new version made in 1952 through the so-called associated free state are now going through a process of social, political and economic decomposition of every type. He charged that the Puerto Rican colonial government plans, and is already carrying out, a speed-up consolidation of the repressive apparatus and expansion of U.S. military detachments on the island.

He explained that in his country an institutionalized colonial war exists as in any world colony and there is also a liberation war. Arraiza stressed that the international community has the duty of bringing to the forefront the decolonization agenda in the case of Puerto Rico.

Referring to the fact that the recently concluded nonaligned countries coordinating bureau meeting was held in Cuba, the Puerto Rican revolutionary leader said: [begin recording] Cuba has been vanguard for the national liberation movements, the first socialist state in this hemisphere and truly the (first) free state in this hemisphere. And it is really symbolic that it was selected [for the meeting] and it was about time. We believe that after this experience all nonaligned countries always will understand that Cuba will be a bastion of defense for their demands and objectives. Specifically in our case, in the case of Puerto Rico's national liberation movement and of all the world's national liberation movements, Cuba has been one of the [words indistinct] which sets an example for the nonaligned movement, and I believe this is an act of justice that will help to the development of the nonaligned movement in all its objectives.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH PUERTO RICO

A preparatory meeting for the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico will be held in Havana 30 and 31 March to form an international preparatory committee and outline the lines of work of the conference. Representatives of international organizations and national peace committees of different countries of the world will begin arriving in Havana this week.

## DELEGATIONS ARRIVE FOR PUERTO RICO SOLIDARITY MEETING

The first delegations have arrived in Havana to participate in the international conference of solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico to be held 30-31 March.

Alfredo Varela, vice president of the Argentine Council for Peace; Roberto Prieto, member of the permanent council of the Latin American Workers Trade Union Unity Organization; and Oscar Alamanera, representing the Peruvian Movement for Peace, have arrived in an Aeroflot flight from Lima, Peru. (Georges Pellet), member of the national politburo of the French Movement for Peace, also arrived in a Cubana de Aviación plane at the Rancho Boyeros air terminal.

These delegates were welcomed at the international airport by Comrades PCG Central Committee Members Clementina Serra and Sara Pascual, both secretariat members of the Cuban Movement for Peace and Solidarity with Peoples.

## PUERTO RICO SOLIDARITY MEETING CONTINUES IN HAVANA

The preparatory meeting of the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico today continued holding its working session at the Atlantico Hotel of Santa María del Mar, Havana Province.



The event, which is being attended by representatives of diverse international democratic organizations and committees for peace of countries of all continents, has, among its objectives, the task of establishing the international committee charged with organizing the conference of solidarity with Puerto Rico which will be held next September in Havana at the initiative of the World Peace Council.

In today's morning session, the representatives of the continental organization of Latin American students, the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, Spanish Committee for Peace, the Movement for the Peace and Sovereignty of Korea, the Guyanese Committee for Peace and the Pan-Indian Council for Peace addressed the participants. In their speeches, all the delegates referred to the situation of brutal colonial domination to which Yankee imperialism is subjecting the fraternal Puerto Rican people, and expressed the disposition of their respective organizations to do their best in making the international conference of solidarity with the Puerto Rican people a success.

In his opening speech, Comrade Juan Marinello, member of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples, stated that Puerto Rico is an example of the insensible and insatiable nature of North American imperialism, as well as a lesson and warning to all peoples; and referred to the failures of the imperialist plans in Puerto Rico. Closing, he pointed out that socialist Cuba offers its fraternal hand to Puerto Rico in the attainable dream of a free Puerto Rico in a free America and in a free world.

### THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

The continuing investigation of the Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean brought to light a facet of activity involving United States and foreign nationals which may affect the internal security of the United States for many years to come.

Specifically, it dealt with the degree of involvement of the General Directorate of Intelligence (D.G.I.), the Cuban equivalent of the Soviet KGB, in the infiltration of deep-cover agents into the United States, and the establishment of a vast network for the collection of intelligence of military, political, industrial, and economic nature directly affecting the security of the country.

As previously reported, the subcommittee had followed with great interest the activities, in the United States and Cuba, of the members and veterans of the "Venceremos" Brigade. The investigation has been a continuing one. It was begun at the time of the Brigade's inception in 1969 for the alleged purpose of helping the Communist regime of Cuba in its sugar harvest by bringing in U.S. volunteers.

There had been good reason to believe that the Venceremos Brigade had been created for the purpose of acting as a screen and tool of the Cuban intelligence apparatus. This has now been confirmed by a careful analysis of much new evidence, based on a variety of sources. This evidence points to the conclusion that the Venceremos Brigade is one of the most extensive and dangerous infiltration operations ever undertaken by a foreign power against the United States.

#### Genesis

The Venceremos Brigade was brought into being through the clever manipulation of a small group of U.S. leftist radicals, prominent among whom were some of the leaders of the SDS "Weatherman" faction. The creation of the Brigade stemmed from three basic priorities of the DGI:

1. The need for factual and current information on every aspect of activity in the United States. This was deemed essential in guiding the DGI in its long range plans to infiltrate a number of Cuban "illegals" into the United States in response to pressure from the Soviets.

2. The desire of the Cubans to turn to their own advantage any manifestation of dissent toward the established order in the Free World, especially when directed against the United States. This entailed exposure of selected individuals, representing a broad spectrum of revolutionary-terrorist groups in the United States, to carefully staged meetings with leaders of international revolutionary movements brought to Cuba under the auspices of the African-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, commonly known as the "Tricontinental."

3. A show of solidarity toward North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, acting not only as a conveyor belt for anti-war propaganda but actually using the Brigade as a means to collect information useful to the North Vietnamese.

#### DGI Involvement

The involvement of the DGI in the genesis of the Brigade was so blatant that the name of one of its UN Center officers was openly mentioned in a letter to the leadership of the SDS Weatherman faction.<sup>1</sup> When active recruiting for the Brigade began in the fall of 1969, the DGI had to rely on a cadre formed mainly by New Left activists who had made one or more trips to Cuba. The results of the interviews were then reviewed by the DGI United Nations Center, which gave final approval. This procedure is still followed whenever a Brigade is being recruited.

Those selected for the Brigade undergo preliminary indoctrination at the hands of the cadre who, under the guise of assessing the involvement of the recruit, elicit information on a variety of subjects that are of great interest both to the DGI and the KGB.

Brigade members usually are transported to Cuba by passenger aircraft or converted freighter. The return trip is usually by converted cattleboat to Canada, although the 7th Brigade broke with this precedent and returned to the United States by air via Barbados. Every time a Brigade traveled to or from Cuba on a freighter, the DGI placed a number of its officers on board in order to take advantage of any situation that might allow them to manipulate and establish control over the Americans.

Venceremos Brigade activities are of such great importance to the DGI that they are controlled by a special section of the Political and Economic Intelligence Division, ranking on a par with similar sections on the UN, the U.S. Department of State, and U.S. political parties. The Brigade section is under the direct supervision of the Deputy Director of the DGI, Ramon Oroza Naveran, known under the *nom de guerre* of "Demetrio."

Demetrio personally supervised the creation and subsequent activities of the Brigade, and he assigned such priority to the project that all other DGI operations were held to be subordinate to the collection of intelligence from the members of the Venceremos Brigade.

Practically every Cuban national attached to the Brigade camps, right down to the food service and maintenance personnel, is a member or a co-opted member of the DGI. These DGI operatives are so skilled in their impersonations that few Brigade members are aware of their true identities. In fact, so many DGI personnel are needed to staff these camps that nearly all other operations must be suspended when the camps are active. Even maintenance and clerical personnel of the Directorate are pressed into service, as numerous photographs obtained by the Subcommittee indicate.

#### DGI Subservience to KGB Directives

However extensive the involvement of the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence may be in this and other operations, one needs to bear in mind the underlying factor of the subservience of the DGI to its supervisory organization, the KGB (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti) of the Soviet Union.

Early in 1969, as revealed in testimony before the Subcommittee by Orlando Castro Hidalgo, a former DGI officer stationed in Paris, the Directorate issued new directives regarding relations with the Soviet Union. This stemmed from the fact that the Soviets had used oil as a blackmail weapon to bring the Cubans to heel. (Evidence of this is to be found in a lengthy philippic delivered by Raul Castro on January 24, 1968, during a secret session of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.)

Ironically, the details of the whole affair are contained in a booklet, published by the Cuban government and brought to the United States by a returning member of the Brigade. The booklet is entitled "Informacion from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba on Microfaction Activities"—*Instituto de Libro—Ediciones Politicas, Havana 1968.*

As a result of a new agreement, the DGI was ordered to collect intelligence which was of little intrinsic value to Cuba but of very great interest to the Soviet Union. Immediately afterward, the number of DGI personnel stationed in Cuban embassies in Western Europe was increased sharply.

It was in this context that the KGB advisor to the DGI, Vitaliy Petrovich Semionov, insisted on the priority of establishing a good network of illegals in the United States instead of confining the Directorate's interest to the activities of the anti-Castro exiles. The DGI was eager to comply.

<sup>1</sup> Page 290, Part 4, *Extent of Subversion in the New Left*. (Julie Nchamla, author of the letter and one of the U.S. instruments of the DGI in the formation of the Brigade was recently in Puerto Rico as representative of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.)



### *Cuban Illegals in the United States*

At this point, it is important to go into some detail regarding the need of the Communists for factual and current information for the purpose of training "illegals" and situating them in the United States.

At the outset, the DGI infiltration candidates were handpicked members, well prepared, of long standing party allegiance, with extensive experience in intelligence matters. For better security, they had not been allowed to travel outside Cuba, and, as an additional precaution, they had never had personal contacts with prisoners. All were college trained and virtually all of them were fluent in English. To round out their training, they were to receive an 11 month training course in the Soviet Union. The initial group of illegals consisted of approximately 30 officers selected in 1970.

In addition to the extensive training that an illegal, who is to establish residence in the United States, has to undergo, there are other needs to be considered. Most important of all is establishing a new identity with corroborating evidence as to his person, family background, education, business, etc. The period of "incubation" can take 5 or 6 years or even longer.

Soon after the Soviets made the proposal, the DGI found out that it was totally unprepared, because of a lack of the necessary data, to embark on this operation. To furnish covers for illegals entailed a monumental task of collection and analysis of information that its agents attached to the UN Center in New York could not accomplish without inside assistance.

To remedy this, Demetrio, after having observed the attitude of American left-wing visitors to Cuba, came to the conclusion that the young Americans were an easy and accessible source of the information needed. Consequently, a plan was devised and the Venceremos Brigade was brought into existence.

### *The Venceremos Brigade in Cuba*

As stated before, the Directorate was able to obtain the information needed through a program that brought the young students into constant contact with DGI agents working under cover.

In fact, every waking moment of the Brigade members while in Cuba was supervised and controlled by the Cubans, who used physical labor to soften resistance, criticism and self-criticism sessions, minority caucuses, and rap sessions skillfully directed in order to assess the political attitude of the Americans and at the same time collect the necessary intelligence.

To this should be added the fact that the Cubans used various means such as questionnaires, diaries, recorded interviews, speeches, and others to build individual files on each member of the Brigade. Among other things, the DGI formed a committee of Brigade members for the collection and transmission to Cuba of telephone directories from a variety of areas in the United States. A telephone directory can be a simple and ready source of corroborating evidence, even in a cursory background investigation. The importance of a telephone directory in intelligence operations is such that it is a crime in Cuba to mail a telephone directory out of the country.

Another committee was formed to collect technical books on industrial research, with heavy emphasis on university departments working under a contract for the Department of Defense. Other committees were to report on the Latin community in the United States, the Cuban community in the United States, and the activities of U.S. citizens overseas. This last committee was to report the type of business, duties of embassy personnel, and other related matters.

In addition to the military-university research contracts, the DGI expressed interest in the University structure as related to its connections with the government and private corporations. Even the financial aspects of the contracts appeared to be of interest to the Cubans.

A committee was formed to report on the University of California (Berkeley) research programs relating to nuclear weapons; Los Alamos proving grounds; the Lawrence lab; a new biological lab near the naval base; the research on storing of bacteria, and survival in case of plague; an other related topics.

DGI agents showed interest in information on the ABM system instruments, MIRV, and the missile guidance systems of our Polaris submarines, the NASA Apollo program, and the NASA center near the university; a moving target indicator, a tunnel detector, and a helicopter project to be used in Vietnam.

The thoroughness of the Cubans was such that in addition to the few subjects described above, they also collected information on the Brigade members, including rumors, accusations, degree of intoxication when alcohol was served at parties, sexual relations, and other intimate data.

The Cubans were thus able not only to assemble a complete profile of a potential agent but gathered enough intelligence to satisfy both their own needs and those of their Soviet mentors.

### *Recruitment of Potential Agents*

Usually out of a 200-member Brigade, 30 to 40 individuals were thought worthy of special consideration. Of these, 4 or 5 were recruited as contacts and, if future proficiency was consistent, they were developed as agents.

The questions submitted to Brigade members about trips to Europe and the need to know about the activities of U.S. citizens overseas were based on an immediate and real need: contact with potential agents. With a false U.S. passport, the recruited agent travels to Europe and then to Cuba for a 2 to 3 month training period, and then returns to the United States by the same route.

The contact in Europe is usually made after a lapse of a year or more, and after careful observation of the recruited agent by Soviet KGB agents to weed out U.S. counterintelligence agents.

Since the Cubans did not want the Brigade members to know that one of their number had been selected for a clandestine operation, it was necessary to isolate the individual for training and instructions. For short-term training, the selected Brigade member would be hospitalized and later spirited out of the hospital or, if this was not possible, kept in isolation for the length of time needed to impart the necessary instructions.

### *Targets in the U.S.*

There are good reasons to believe that the DGI considers Operation Venceremos a highly successful venture in practically every respect. There were serious problems, mainly in the disciplinary field, but these were offset by the wealth of information gathered and the objectives attained. The self-perpetuating structure of the Brigade is an indication that the Cubans intend to keep a tight control on the organization, especially in view of the recent moves to re-establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Again, it is most interesting to note that the DGI has had an extremely keen interest in the legislative and executive branches of the United States government. One of its objectives is to obtain not only information but also a base of influence.

Of paramount importance to the DGI is the influence that can be brought to bear on the matter of resuming relations by political and economic groups which favor such resumption.

In this context, the DGI, ever ready to exploit any available source to advance its objectives, has sought to enlist the help of the National Lawyers Guild to create a pressure group in the United States. A letter to members of the Washington, D.C., chapter announcing the names of the selected delegates for a trip to Cuba contained the following statement:

The recommending committee was overwhelmed by the number of qualified and desirable applicants. The process used to select the delegates and alternates was difficult, and of course, subjective to some degree. The first criterion was determined by the Cubans themselves. They asked that the Guild send men and women who would be able to serve them as contact and resource people in Washington during the upcoming period of transition in Cuban-U.S. relations; they desired a delegation which would have a broad background in governmental, professional and legal work. They (sic) Cubans stressed that the delegates should have a solid history of professional experience in the legal field, which is the reason why the selection was weighted towards lawyers rather than legal workers or students.

The letter closed with the word "Venceremos."

### *Conclusion*

As the 8th contingent of the Venceremos Brigade prepares to leave for Cuba sometime in March of 1975, the number of veteran Brigade members who came under DGI control totals nearly 2,000. Although many of the members have dropped out completely, there is enough overt activity in the United States to indicate that the National and Regional Committees are determined to have a hand in directing the movement for "political and social change."

In Marxist jargon "political and social change" is a euphemism for revolution. The veterans of the Brigade left no doubt as to their intentions when they printed a leaflet in California to recruit new members. It stated:

We call ourselves Venceremos Brigade. Senator Eastland calls us "Human Missiles" because the message we bring with us is a call for solidarity among all the people who are fighting the common enemy: U.S. Imperialism.

The struggle in the Cuban canefields, on the front lines in Vietnam, in the world communities at home and against the war machine in our country is the same.

In view of the inherent danger to the security of the United States engendered by the activities of the "Venceremos Brigade" and its mentor and director, the Cuban General Directorate of Intelligence, the staff of the subcommittee is in the process of preparing a comprehensive report on the Brigade to be released in the near future.

#### PROPOSAL OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

Shortly before his death in battle, Jose Marti (leader of the Cuban independence movement) wrote that he embraced the chance to give his life in the struggle, and "with the independence of Cuba, to prevent the United States' extending itself throughout the Antilles and pouncing with this added force upon the countries of our America."

Marti died, and his hopes for true Cuban independence remained unfulfilled for sixty years, as United States' imperialism relentlessly carried out Marti's prophecy in Cuba and the entire Latin American continent. The United States rapidly became the center of world-wide imperialism, all the while increasing its economic penetration and domination of Third World countries, particularly those in Latin America. Cuba is the first Latin American country to break out of U.S. domination and control. Since our movement to destroy American imperialism from the inside is inextricably linked with Third World liberation movements, we should understand in what ways the Cuban Revolution serves as an example for these struggles, and we should be prepared to offer it the most concrete support possible. This proposal contains a position on the Cuban Revolution, a call to support a North American brigade to cut sugarcane in the 1970 Ten Million Ton harvest as a means of demonstrating our solidarity, and a call for a national educational program on the Cuban Revolution.

##### I. Description: Political Background

North American intervention in the Cuban War of Independence against Spain (sometimes called the "Spanish-American War") forced Cuba to move from the domain of Spanish colonial power to the status of neo-colony of the United States. Under the protection of such varied means as outright military intervention, the Platt amendment, tariff agreements, and the sugar quota arrangement, the U.S. imperialists systematically carried out their domination of Cuban society. No other Latin American country had its economy penetrated so quickly and so thoroughly. The imperialists controlled the best land, all the mines, the greater part of the sugar industry, public services, the most efficient industries, the electric power industry, the telephone service, the railroads, the most important businesses and the banks.

This period of American domination of Cuba (1902-1958) corresponds to the base of development of monopoly capitalism in the United States, and the mechanisms of exploitation and control of Cuba were an expression of this process. Cuba was a potential market for U.S. surplus capital and manufactured goods, as well as a source of raw materials. Thus Boorstein puts it: "It was the (American) monopolies that geared the Cuban economy to sugar, dominated its resources, suffocated its industry with the goods they pumped in, and drained out its foreign exchange for luxuries." This economic domination had its political consequences in the "pseudo-republic" with its bourgeois, neocolonial parliamentary system. These two forces, economic and political domination by the imperialists, are the roots of the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and define the logic of the Cuban revolutionary process. Sartre describes the nature of the Cuban political superstructure (so familiar today in all the Third World):

"... in the midst of that almost total dependence, what could the politicians who governed you have done? For the country, nothing. Their impotence came not from their vices but from their servitude; and their vices, on the other hand, were born from their impotence. ... In other words, THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A FLAT JOKE IF IT WERE NOT FOUNDED UPON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. And that sovereignty ...

would continue to be an empty abstraction so long as it was not the concrete consequence of ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. The first objective of the revolutionary struggle were already manifesting themselves, revealing a more radical and imperative finality. ... the economic imperialism of the Foreign Power necessarily created its own accomplices in the very countries it was crushing, ... representatives of foreign imperialism on their own soil; to fight for the independence of the Cuban economy, for the sovereignty of (the) State and for the honesty of (the) ruling officials, was first to fight against them."

In order to be politically and economically independent and to be able to develop the Cuban economy for the benefit of all the Cubans, to re-distribute wealth, the Cuban revolutionaries had to seize power (through armed struggle and the defeat of Batista's army), and destroy the domestic bourgeoisie and its international bosses, American capitalists with interests in Cuba (through class struggle and the expropriation and nationalization of the productive forces). As Fidel said, speaking of Cuba's historical position in Latin America:

"... We are the first people of this continent to abolish the exploitation of man by man! It is true that we were the last to begin (to gain independence and free slaves), but it is also true that we have gone further than anybody else. We have eradicated the capitalist system of exploitation; we have made the people the true owners of their future and their wealth. WE WERE THE LAST TO BREAK THE CHAINS OF THE COLONY, BUT WE HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO THROW OFF THE CHAINS OF IMPERIALISM."

In the early years of the Revolution, power was consolidated and guaranteed by the arming of the people (in people's militias) and the enlargement of the Rebel Army. The armed force of the Revolutionary Government was their chief class weapon against internal enemies (counter-revolutionaries) and foreign imperialists and their agents. At the same time, efforts were begun to develop the Cuban economy. Speaking to workers at a May Day rally, Fidel said:

"How many were there who could understand that a revolution did not mean that the people would simply enter an era of wealth, but that it meant that they would begin to create that wealth, begin to lay the groundwork for that era of wealth? ... There wasn't even a political organization that represented the will and effort of all the people. That is why we speak of the triumph of the rebellion instead of the triumph of the revolution."

The Cubans see work as the battle of their new war—the war of a Revolution in power against underdevelopment, and they see the Party as the vanguard of that struggle. During the Revolutionary War the guerrillas were vanguard which, through the process of armed struggle, created the subjective conditions necessary for victory (the consciousness that victory was possible by violent means), and developed the strategies which led to that victory. After the socialist revolution changed the objective relations of production in Cuban society, the Party became the vanguard which created the subjective conditions necessary for the development of a communist society, and developed the policies for the economic changes leading to an economy of abundance. The change in consciousness comes from participation in the struggle to develop the economy, and from an understanding of that process. As Che said:

"Every worker, on every level, becomes a soldier for the economy, ... their vanguard (is) the party, composed of the most advanced workers, of the advanced men who move along bound to the masses and in close communion with them ... To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base."

Selection of party members in Cuba is unique in the socialist world. All potential party members must be nominated from the base; in every work-place there is a workers' assembly in which nominees are chosen for the party nucleus of that work-place. The party retains the right to review and evaluate each nominee's qualifications and make the final choice of admission, and it presents its justifications for acceptance or rejection at another public workers' assembly. Che:

"Our aspiration is that the party become a mass one, but only when the masses reach the level of development of the vanguard, that is, when they are educated for communism. Our work is aimed at providing that education. The party is the living example; ... with their acts they must lead the masses to the end of the revolutionary task, which means years of struggle against the difficulties of construction, the class enemies, the defects of the past, imperialism."

##### Internationalism

Internationalism is fundamental to the Cuban revolution. The Cubans understand this from their own point of view: (Che) "If (a revolutionary's) eagerness

becomes dulled when the most urgent tasks are carried on a local scale, and if he forgets about proletarian internationalism, the revolution that he leads ceases to be a driving force and it sinks into a comfortable drowsiness which is taken advantage of by imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, to gain ground. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary need. This is how we educate our people."

They also understand that imperialism must be destroyed before communism can really exist in any country: "Humanity comes before one's own country", quoted Fidel, and "communism cannot be built in one country in the midst of an underdeveloped world."

The Cubans have taken the position that in the Third World, armed struggle is the fundamental road to the seizure of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a revolution from within the heart of imperialism: the imperialists will be destroyed by the combined revolutionary movements from within and outside. Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams includes a call for the creation of a Viet-Nam within the very boundaries of the imperialist Mother Country: the United States.

#### *Economic Strategy*

Economic policy in the early years of the revolution was based on the conviction that readjusting economic priorities and releasing idle labor and resources gave unlimited opportunities for economic growth, and that to break out of the condition of neo-colonialism meant to industrialize and to diversify agriculture. Therefore, the first two important goals were seen as import-substitution and the development of a heavy industrial base. These policies required heavy investment of foreign reserves in raw materials, factories, the building of an economic infrastructure, the training of skilled personnel, and construction, which placed a severe strain on the Cuban economy. Pressure on reserves (foreign exchange as well as labor and resources) forced the Cubans to re-evaluate their policies. According to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, their conclusions were that strong dependence on foreign trade could not be ended in a short period. Further, as a tropical country, Cuba had many agricultural products (sugar, dairy and meat products, citrus fruit, coffee, tobacco) which she could offer to other socialist countries (and increasingly, to non-socialist countries) who in turn were capable of providing a stabilized market with good prices. This meant that sugar, primarily, meat and dairy products, and citrus fruits would provide the bulk of foreign exchange making industrial development possible, in addition to solidifying their own subsistence base. This focus on agriculture aims at a mechanized agriculture, which will produce capital for re-investment, while at the same time freeing labor for other activities. The early stages of industrial development are viewed as deriving from the focus on agriculture: industries required by a technologically advanced agricultural development (fertilizer, cement, electricity, agricultural equipment), and industries which agriculture generates (based on agricultural by-products and processing). The Ten Million Ton harvest of 1970 is thus crucial in Cuba's economic development: it will be the turning-point on the road toward sustained economic growth. The revenue from this harvest will enable Cuba to mechanize and improve the agricultural sector and advance the expansion of her industrial sector.

#### **SUMMARY: POSITION ON THE CUBAN REVOLUTION**

As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:

(1) The Cuban socialist revolution has brought about a re-distribution of wealth and created an economic policy aimed at developing the economic basis (abundance) for a communist society.

(2) Cuba is in the vanguard of an effort to revitalize socialism, and create a new socialist man, having clearly learned a great deal from the shortcomings of socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The gradual elimination of money, the use of moral incentives, mass participation in the military and political processes, the building of mass consciousness, authentic measures to destroy class differences and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucratic class—all are part of Cuba's experiment in the creation of a new socialism.

(3) Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism, expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." Che's call for "two, three, many Viet-Nams" is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new International centered in the Third World and linked to New Left struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

(4) Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the U.S. Government. As North Americans dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective concrete way possible.

#### *II. Support of a North-American Brigade To Cut Cane in the 1970 Sugar Harvest Political Purposes of the Brigade*

(1) We politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the critical sugar harvest of 1970 with its goal of 10 million tons.

(2) To educate people about imperialism and about the international revolution against imperialism. This will be accomplished through a well-developed education and propaganda program. The program will aim at developing an understanding of U.S. imperialism, not only in its most blatant militaristic aspects (as in Vietnam), but also its role in distorting and impeding economic development throughout the Third World.

(3) To help develop a working unity among participants (students, drop-outs, blacks, chicanos, white working class youth, GI's) based on concrete, practical tasks.

(4) To strengthen our organizational capacity. The carrying out of this program on a national level, with the cooperation of other groups, will force us to confront problems of internal organization as conditions of struggle become more difficult. This will include the further development of a serious and disciplined revolutionary cadre and base, already in the process of being formed. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba, but we can gain general inspiration, ideological clarity and political growth.

(5) To gain a practical understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialist and communist struggle begun a century ago. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us to develop ways of combating anti-communism.

#### *III. Support of an Educational Program of the Cuban Revolution*

The N.O., along with REP and the New England Free Press shall be encouraged to distribute literature on the Cuban revolution, including speeches of Che and Fidel, and articles describing and analyzing the Cuban Revolution. Chapters shall be encouraged to develop political education sessions on the Cuban Revolution, which can be coordinated with the recruitment of brigade members in the chapters.

JULIE NICHAMIN.

[From Puerto Rico Libre, Mar. 16, 1975]

#### **NATIONAL CONFERENCE FUNDS SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION**

The Founding Conference of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (P.R.S.C.), held on March 1 and 2, 1975, unanimously adopted a political statement and by-laws, approved five national campaigns for 1975 and elected a 20-member National Board.

Calling the Conference "an historic occurrence in the history of the solidarity movement with Puerto Rican independence in the U.S.," Alfredo López, Executive Secretary of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee (P.R.S.D.C.), the organizational predecessor of the P.R.S.C., opened the Conference.

López' political report emphasized the importance of developing an organization like the P.R.S.C. right in the heart of imperialism, and urged the delegates to give careful consideration to the political statement, which, when approved, would become the political constitution of the P.R.S.C.

His speech was punctuated with loud applause, an affirmation of the delegates' desire to found the organization and get on with the day-to-day work of organizing the solidarity movement.

The Conference, which took place at the Newark, N.J. campus of Rutgers University, was attended by over 125 delegates and observers from all around the country. Most of the delegates were white North Americans; and at least 50% were women. The Conference noted the lack of participation of third world people, and a commitment was made by the whole assembly to broaden the organization racially and nationally.

Frances Beal, Arthur Kinoy, Antonio Rodriguez and Irwin Silber, National Board members of the P.R.S.D.C., chaired the plenary sessions and participated in the Conference.

Among the Conference participants was Ruth Reynolds. Ms. Reynolds, who received a standing ovation when she was introduced, is the only North American to ever be jailed for supporting the Puerto Rican independence movement. She was imprisoned in Puerto Rico for several years following the Nationalist-Party-led insurrection in 1950.

#### Political Statement

According to the political statement adopted by the Conference, the "primary goal" around which the Committee will be organized is "support for the national liberation of Puerto Rico and the self-determination of the Puerto Rican people."

The statement, written by the Conference Convening Committee of the National Board in an attempt to give a context and focus to the work of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, had been circulating among the various committees and supporters of the P.R.S.D.C. for several weeks prior to the Conference. After animated debate in workshops and recommended changes, it was unanimously approved by the full body on the first day of the Conference, and used as a basis for further discussions of by-laws and national campaigns.

The last section of the statement, which deals particularly with the founding of the P.R.S.C., points out that "the development of a mass movement around Puerto Rico . . . depends on our ability to link up the struggle of the Puerto Rican people with . . . present and long-term interests of many sectors of the American population . . ."

To do this, the document goes on to state, "the issue itself must be integrally tied to the day-to-day reality of people in this country. Every opportunity must be taken to expose the rhetoric of the U.S. government about Puerto Rico and show how the government's strategy in Puerto Rico also affects North Americans, by constantly demonstrating that both people have the same enemy: U.S. imperialism. People can and will understand that the Puerto Rican struggle will profoundly affect objective and subjective conditions in this country, and that the liberation of Puerto Rico will signify a tremendous step on the road to basic social and economic change in this country."

The document proposes that within the broad movement of solidarity with Puerto Rican independence, there must be an organization capable of giving leadership to all the forces involved by providing an anti-imperialist analysis of Puerto Rico's relationship to the U.S. and developing a strategy which can effectively mobilize and sustain the larger movement. This organization must be founded on the understanding that the imperialist strategy in Puerto Rico is not a "policy error," an "oversight," . . . but . . . an inherent function of the system of imperialism. This means that we will not be satisfied with Congressional reforms, politicians' promises, or imperialist 'solutions'!"

#### National Campaigns

P.R.S.D.C. board member Antonio Rodriguez, a Mexican leader of the Los Tres Defense Committee in Los Angeles and C.A.S.A. (Centro Autonomico de Accion Social), prefaced the presentation of the five 1975 national campaigns with a moving declaration of solidarity between the Mexican and Chicano peoples and the Puerto Rican people.

The five national campaigns proposed by the Conference Convening Committee were presented to the body by Rosa Borenstein of the Central Staff of the P.R.S.D.C. Each campaign was discussed in a separate workshop and reports recommending additions and changes were presented to the closing plenary session, which adopted the campaigns. The plenary mandated the newly-elected National Board to develop national work plans for their implementation.

The campaigns adopted in final form by the Conference are the participation of the P.R.S.C. in the "International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence," which will be held in Cuba during the fall; support for the workers' movement in Puerto Rico as well as particular struggles of Puerto Rican workers in the U.S., like those of migrants, which are clearly linked to the strategy of

imperialism; against the political repression by U.S. government agencies of the Puerto Rican independence movement and the Puerto Rican people in general; in support of the unconditional freedom of the "Five Puerto Rican Political Prisoners," arrested during the 1950's and currently the longest-held political prisoners in the western hemisphere, and other Puerto Rican political prisoners like Carlos Feliciano; and against the genocidal population policies used by the U.S. against the Puerto Rican people.

Local committees which have already initiated work on some of the campaigns, such as support for workers' struggles, anti-repression, and sterilization, will continue that work and adapt it to the national guidelines.

Some of the concrete ideas put forth by the Conference body for the implementation of the campaigns include setting up an *ad hoc* committee which will select and organize a representative delegation from the United States to the International Solidarity Conference; the production of literature about the intervention of U.S. repressive agencies in Puerto Rico, the histories of the Five Political Prisoners, documentation on sterilization and other genocidal programs used against the Puerto Rican people; and speaking tours for leaders of the Puerto Rican workers' movement and women's movement.

A motion from the floor called for the P.R.S.C. to develop a national project that would relate the colonial case of Puerto Rico to the 1976 bicentennial campaign being run by our government, which was unanimously accepted, and was recommended to the National Board for study and implementation plans.

#### Organizational Objectives

In his closing remarks, Alfredo López listed four organizational objectives for the P.R.S.C. in the coming year. They are the "consolidation of the National Board into an active and collective leadership of the solidarity committee;" the doubling of both the membership and number of committees of the organization by March, 1976 (in the by-laws adopted by the P.R.S.C., membership is open to individuals only, there is no organizational membership); that local committees and National Board members make the bulletin, *Puerto Rico Libre!* "the educational and organizational tool" of the P.R.S.C.; and that the committee make itself financially self-sufficient. These objectives were unanimously approved.

#### National Board

The new at-large members of the National Board elected at the Conference are: Ella J. Baker, civil rights activist; Amiri Baraka, Chairman, Congress of African People; Frances Beal, Third World Women's Alliance; Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Ben Chavis, Vice-Chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Walter Collins, Southern Conference Educational Fund; Dave Dellinger, antiwar activist; Rev. David Garcia, Priest-in-Charge, St. Mark's Episcopal Church, N.Y.C.; Corky Gonzalez, Crusade for Justice; Jim Houghton, Fight Back!; Phil Hutchings, black activist; Arthur Kinoy, Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People; Mary Kochiyama, Asian-American activist; Beverly Leman, women's movement and anti-war activist; Antonio Rodriguez, C.A.S.A.; Owusu Sadulak, African Liberation Support Committee; Irwin Silber, *Guardian* editor; Annie Stein, People Against Racism in Education; and Jose "Che" Velazquez, member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Each local committee coordinator is also a member of the National Board. The stated hope of the P.R.S.C. is that, with the development of many new committees, the coordinators represented on the Board will outnumber the at-large members.

The Conference, united and determined to meet its 1975 goals, ended in the early evening of Sunday, March 2 amid jubilant cries of "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" and "Independence for Puerto Rico Now!"

(*Puerto Rico Libre!* will be publishing news of the various national campaigns in its coming issue, as well as information about membership and new committees. If you would like, you may write directly to the P.R.S.C. national office for more information.)

#### PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

*Puerto Rico Libre!* is published monthly by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, an organization which supports the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico and self-determination for Puerto Rican people. National Board of the P.R.S.C.: Ella J. Baker, Amiri Baraka, Frances Beal, Clyde Bellecourt, Ben



Chavis, Walter Collins, Dave Dellinger, Rev. David Garcia, Corky Gonzalez, Jim Haughton, Phil Hutchings, Arthur Kinoy, Mary Kochiyama, Beverly Leman, Antonio Rodriguez, Owusu Sadikal, Irwin Silber, Annie Stein, Jose "Che" Velazquez.

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The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, Tel: (212) 673-0540.

### IN SOLIDARITY—THE CONFERENCE IN NEWARK

It might seem an exaggeration to say that the Founding Conference of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee rivalled the National Day of Solidarity in importance.

The Garden action was a more dramatic event. But the fact remains that, at the Newark Conference, we met what is a fundamental historic need. We formed an organization of people living in the United States, whose principle of unity is support for the National Liberation of Puerto Rico. It is the first time in the history of our struggle that such a broad membership organization has been formed.

People from all over the country were present and, the fact that forces with such diverse political perspectives could obtain and maintain a unity around certain principles is, in itself, an achievement.

But the Conference was not satisfied with that achievement in itself. We learned, in the very experience of the Conference, how to do certain crucial political things.

We learned to analyze and base our political and organizational projections on that analysis. All of the five projections for the year—the International Conference in Havana, support for the workers' movement, support for the struggle against repression and repressive activities, support for the freedom of Puerto Rican political prisoners, and support for the struggle against genocidal population policies—all of these come out of the analysis of the moment in which Puerto Rico—and Yanqui colonialism—live. They are projections which seek to make our support for the Puerto Rican struggle most concrete . . . most helpful. They are also based on where—at this moment—colonialism is weakest and where we can best contribute to its defeat.

The International Conference—an event which will concretize the growing international support for the national liberation struggle—comes at a time when making that support concrete is fundamental. Our Conference understood that, after we have concretized growing North American support, through the 27th campaign, we must take part in concretizing the international support.

This all comes out of the analysis which was made of imperialism's international situation in the discussion document. Nobody at the Conference doubted that an international conference is totally possible—that the world is objectively anti-imperialist.

Just as important, of course, are the organizing projections of the Conference. This is not "a staff of people with a yearly action" as New York coordinator Julie Niehamin pointed out in her remarks. Ours is a membership organization, with bases, leadership, political perspective; with by-laws and scientifically arrived-at work plans.

In this light the goals of duplicating committee chapters, financial self-sufficiency of our organization and development of a consolidated national leadership through the National Board, are answers to basic needs.

Of course, the development of *Puerto Rico Libre!*, as an educational and organizing tool for our committee must be seen as a major priority of the year's work.

We could not write this column without mentioning the newly-elected National Board. Represented on the board are people from just about every area of the country, every tendency of political thinking and every sector of the population. But the representation is not merely reflective. This is representation in quality, life experience . . . these are leaders of wide sectors of the population, leaders in the real anti-imperialist movement.

It should be noted that a large number of Afro-American brothers and sisters have been elected to the board, which is a continuation—and a deepening—of one of the most important projections of the campaign which built the Garden action, the development of black solidarity with Puerto Rican independence.

Differences were expressed, discussion heated, but on approval of the basic questions—consensus was finally achieved. Our organization has been strengthened greatly by this Conference: it has learned how in this moment when unity is crucial, unity is achieved.

### STOP AT SPRINGBOARD

Each year about this time, the United States government sponsors a massive military exercise in and around the waters of Puerto Rico called "Operation Springboard." The exercise involving units from all branches of the U.S. military as well as from some of the different NATO countries, has traditionally been a routine affair. This year however, "Operation Springboard" will be met with a counter-operation: an educational and organizing campaign called "Springboard to What?"

The G.I. movement which grew out of the anti-war and anti-racist struggles among U.S. enlisted people in the late '60's has developed as an openly anti-imperialist movement in the 70's, organizing among the enlisted ranks around U.S. foreign policy, domestic repression against labor and Third World peoples, as well as other key issues.

In the Southeastern U.S., the G.I. Movement is represented by the Defense Committee of Tidewater, Va., Jackson, N.C., and Charleston, S.C.; the Fort Bragg G.I. Union; and the Black Military Resistance League. These groups have organized the anti-"Springboard" campaign.

"Springboard" is a readiness training exercise. This year the combined forces of 20 U.S. Navy ships from Norfolk, Charleston and Mayport, Florida, 10 British vessels, 3 U.S. submarines and 50-75 U.S. and Dutch Airforce planes, along with units of Marines from Camp LeJeune, N.C. are spending the last week in January and the months of February and March practicing such arts of modern warfare as anti-submarine and anti-air warfare, spotting for gunfire support, fire control, and on-land gun shoots. Recent reports indicate that the aircraft carrier the USS Independence will be included in the maneuvers.

The U.S. East coast forces participating in "Springboard" make up 10% of the total U.S. military strength. Combined with U.S. forces already stationed in the Caribbean, they have been in the past and could in the future be used against armed uprisings in the Dominican Republic, Panama, Guatemala, Cuba, Chile, and Puerto Rico.

Military installations in Puerto Rico occupy over 13% of the island's best farmland. This includes the U.S. Naval Station at San Juan, Fort Buchanan, Fort Allen, Sabana Seca, the West Annex, the U.S. Army Reserves, the 3,000-member Puerto Rican National Guard, and the giant naval complex at Roosevelt Roads.

"Roosey Roads" is one of the largest military installations in the world, covering 37,000 acres of land with a value conservatively estimated at \$300 million. This base and the allied facilities of the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Range (Culebra, Vieques, etc.) is one of the most complete training and testing areas in the world. Several major commands are located there which plan and implement cruises to Africa, South America, and the entire Caribbean area, forcing Puerto Rico into the role of an important base for U.S. imperialism overseas.

"Springboard" holds nothing good in store for rank-and-file G.I.'s. Each year enlisted people are forced to work long, back-breaking hours with machinery that is pushed far past its capacity for safe operation. The combination of fatigue and poor safety conditions results in injuries and even deaths.

Resentment against these oppressive conditions combined with a basic distrust of the political motivations for U.S. foreign policy are making more and more G.I.'s look for a political explanation for the purposes of "Springboard". "Springboard to What?" is intended to offer just such an explanation.

The Defense Committee, Ft. Bragg G.I. Union, and the Black Military Resistance League are circulating a petition to "Stop Springboard". Addressed to the Congress of the United States, it reads in part:

"We the undersigned active-duty men and women, military families, and private citizens are opposed to the military training exercise called 'Operation Springboard.' 'Operation Springboard' is part of our training in providing fire



support for suppressing rebellions in countries like Puerto Rico. . . . The struggle of the Puerto Rican people to take control of their own country is just like the struggle of enlisted people or U.S. civilian workers to take control over their own lives. As working people ourselves, we support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their independence, and call on you to take whatever actions are necessary to STOP OPERATION SPRINGBOARD!"

The petition campaign is being accompanied by distribution of 7,000 16-page pamphlets on the history of Puerto Rico, the colonial plans for the "Superport", the independence movement on the island, and the political significance of "Operation Springboard."

Meetings are being set up among G.I.'s to discuss the campaign, and to present the slide-show "A Superport Means No More Puerto Rico", made available by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.

On January 25, members of the Committees, the G.I. Union, and the League sponsored a rally in Norfolk, Virginia calling for self-determination for Puerto Rico and an end to "Operation Springboard".

"Springboard to What?" promises to be the most massive educational and organizing campaign yet carried out among U.S. Servicepeople in support of self-determination for the Puerto Rican people, and is a reflection of the growing anti-imperialist sentiment among North American G.I.'s. Anyone wishing to help in the campaign can get in touch with The Defense Committee, Box 9870, Norfolk, Virginia 23505.

#### PRSDC MEMBERS VISIT PUERTO RICO

In mid-January, six members of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee were the guests of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party during a 2-week visit to Puerto Rico. This was the first visit of North Americans to the island officially organized by the P.S.P. The group, composed of individuals who did outstanding work during the campaign to mobilize for the October 27, 1974 rally at Madison Square Garden, included Roger Geller from Boston, Frank Christopher from Los Angeles, Dana Biberman, Rosa Borenstein and Julie Nichamin from New York and Ted Glick from Washington, D.C.

The group traveled throughout the island, making special stops at the petrochemical complexes in the Ponce area; the U.S. marine base, Camp Garcia, on Vieques, an island off the east coast of Puerto Rico; Añasco, the newly-proposed west-coast site for the superport; and the mountainous mining region where Kennecott Copper and American Metal Climax are trying to lay stakes near the cities of Lares and Jayuya, historic landmarks in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

Wherever the group went they visited with representatives of the independence movement, learned about the movement's history and saw how the people are organizing themselves for the recovery of their national sovereignty. From the very successful 10-year old movement to stop the exploitation of copper and other mineral resources in the mining area, to students organizing at the island's only technical university in Mayaguez, to a visit with Antonio Cruz Colon, an *independentista* who spent 22 years in prison for his participation in the Nationalist-led uprising in Jayuya on October 30, 1950, the group was constantly impressed by how deeply and firmly the independence movement is supported by the majority of Puerto Ricans, and how visible it is.

As one member of the group, Frank Christopher, said: "The independence movement is inescapable. Everywhere, every day, the commercial press, radio and TV quote leaders of the independence movement and follow their actions and the movement's closely. Building walls, highway embankments, all public places are plastered with movement posters and murals. A well-organized government couldn't do a better job in advertising its programs and campaigns."

Before the group left for Puerto Rico, *Puerto Rico Libre!* editors asked each person to answer five questions while they were on the trip. The questions and excerpted responses follow.

#### What was the purpose of your trip?

JULIE NICHAMIN. We visited Puerto Rico to try to get a firsthand understanding of the conditions on the island. It is one thing to read about a country, and another to see it with your own eyes. We wanted to be able to gain a more profound vision of the problems of the colonial economy: irrational production, unemployment, inflation, wanton pollution of the environment, and the effects of a sustained cultural aggression directed at the Puerto Rican people and culture by

U.S. imperialism. And we wanted to do this by visiting the necessary places—the petrochemical industry sites, the mining zone, the proposed site for the superport, sites of U.S. military bases—and by talking to the people themselves.

#### What were some of your impressions of Puerto Rico?

DANA BIBERMAN. In many ways Puerto Rico is an exaggerated microcosm of the U.S. The gulf between rich and poor is much wider; the destruction of natural resources by chaotic industrialization is much more prevalent; the effects of consumerism are more blatant when seen in a poor, underdeveloped country.

ROGER GELLER. It is extremely difficult to single out one aspect or area of the trip as having made the greatest impression on me. It was clear that the effects of U.S. imperialism pervade the entire fabric of the economic and social structure of Puerto Rico. The capital-intensive economy and its resulting phenomenally high unemployment rate was one of the most constant and most obvious reminders of imperialism. The destructive effects of this economic exploitation on the environment, especially in the area of the petrochemical complex in Ponce, and on the society, in terms of thousands of people, deeply in debt with no prospects or work, in impoverished condition, while land speculators and U.S. businessmen take advantage of tax incentives and loopholes and rake in the dollars cannot be adequately described . . .

Underlying this desperate economic condition, there was also the impression of a growing understanding of the need for change, fundamental societal change, among the Puerto Rican people. Through all of the workers we spoke to, through the wall paintings and political events we witnessed, there was ample evidence of a growing class consciousness and awareness of the need for independence.

#### What were your impressions of the Puerto Rican independence movement?

ROGER GELLER. The independence movement visibly demonstrates its historical and mass base on a very wide scale. . . . The Puerto Rican people themselves seemed to applaud the independence movement. This was most obvious riding on the buses from San Juan to Mayaguez [Jan. 11 rally] where people on the roadside demonstrated their support and appreciation for those going to the rally for independence. Whenever we identified ourselves, North Americans who support the movement for independence, we were warmly welcomed. . . . The fishermen in Cabo Rojo, the united front against exploitation of the mine zone, the community people who attended the San Juan funeral of a victim of the Mayaguez bombing, all contributed to the clear impression that independence is not simply the desire of a few political militants but rather a broad-based sentiment of the masses of the Puerto Rican people.

DANA BIBERMAN. . . . Puerto Rico has a very long history of independence struggle; this nationalism and *independentista* sentiment runs deep in most of the people. This depth of sentiment, along with the rapidly strengthening organized liberation forces, place the independence movement, as a whole, well in the forefront of Puerto Rican society. There is a tremendous sense that the independence forces are actually contending for power.

#### What was the most important thing you learned from your visit?

TED GLICK. I was very impressed by the independence organizations, especially the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The way in which strong, disciplined, honest, democratic, humanly-based organization can make all the difference in the world between a lost opportunity and a major stride forward in the advance towards socialist revolution really impressed me.

ROSA BORENSTEIN. The most important thing that I learned, or rather had reinforced for me, was that the Puerto Rican nation will not allow itself to be destroyed by the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism. This was most vivid on the evening of January 11. That night, just before the annual rally commemorating the birth of Eugenio María de Hostos, a turn-of-the-century Puerto Rican leader, and the founding of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (M.P.I., forerunner of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party), a bomb went off in a local Mayaguez restaurant, killing several people and wounding many others. Instead of frightening away the people, 7,000 strong, who had come to the rally, the bombing seemed to have made the *independentistas* more determined to continue with their activity. The rally went on. The leaders of the P.S.P. spoke in the open town square, easy targets for any provocation. The fearlessness and determination of the people and their leaders showed me that the independence struggle is not an intellectual notion, but a real force that is expressed in the actions and character of thousands of Puerto Ricans.

ROGER GELLER. The most important lesson of the trip was that the movement for independence is very real and very important to the survival of Puerto Rico. The solidarity movement in the U.S. is now more than an abstract expression of anti-imperialist politics, it is an alliance with the life and death struggle of the people of Puerto Rico.

*How would you apply what you learned in Puerto Rico to the development of the solidarity movement in the U.S.?*

ROGER GELLER. To apply this understanding—how vital the independence movement is to the survival of the Puerto Rican people—to the work of local solidarity committees requires an understanding of the primary needs of the Puerto Rican people, an understanding of the day-to-day oppression of U.S. imperialism. This is translated into material support for the Puerto Rican labor movement with concrete support work which the workers themselves feel is necessary; it includes an understanding of the methods of repression used against Puerto Rican militants and the political and material support we can give to combat it; it demands the appreciation of the different levels of the political struggle, contacts with the different independence forces, and support for all of those sectors. It means practical work with direct contact as a true meaning of solidarity.

TED GLICK. For one thing, I can speak much more concretely about what I saw and not just from an intellectual perspective. I can relate the things I learned about Puerto Rico to the United States reality and help to build more of an understanding of the need for mutual support among the two peoples. I can use my slides to make Puerto Rico something more than a speech. I can more honestly and clearly speak about what is happening to the people down there, talking about specific examples of individual people we met. Basically, I can convey much more of a sense of the importance and urgency of that struggle and why my people should support it because . . . I was touched by . . . the lives of the many people I met.

ROSA BORENSTEIN. I believe that the Puerto Rican people have given us a great example for how we can and must build a solidarity movement. Like the Puerto Rican movement for independence, we must incorporate people from all sectors of the society into support for the struggle. The people that we met constantly stressed to us that the success of the independence movement in Puerto Rico has been predicated on the ability of the various forces and organizations of the movement to unify their front against imperialism. Although it would be misleading to state that the Puerto Rico independence movement is entirely united, we could clearly see how the degree of unification that exists has strengthened the movement. For instance, several unions have joined together into a new federation called the United Workers Movement, the M.O.U. The M.O.U. not only struggles to better the immediate conditions of workers, but calls for independence from U.S. imperialism, as a key factor in the long-range betterment of the Puerto Rican working class. This new organization has its allies in the people's organizations that have sprung up to protest the superport and mining projects. They reinforce one another's specific struggles, and the general struggle for independence.

Many different people, from many different sectors of the population can be drawn into supporting Puerto Rican independence in the U.S. as well, whether these people are outraged at the ecological damage done by the U.S. colonialists or the genocidal population plans, their support for independence will both broaden and make more effective the solidarity movement here.

G.I. resistance has surfaced on U.S. Navy ships in Puerto Rico which are participating in Operation Springboard (see p. 3) according to the G.I. organization, the Defense Committee, located in Charleston, S.C.

A sitdown strike was carried out in mid-February by two fire-technicians (F.T.'s) aboard a Charleston-based destroyer when the weapon fire the men were directing killed a cow on the island of Vieques. Only when the captain promised that he would no longer ignore the presence of livestock, which the men knew to be valuable to Puerto Rican families, did the two F.T.'s return to work.

On another destroyer, sailors denounced the attitude of their captain who steamed directly over a fishing net despite repeated warnings of the navigator.

The ships have been the site of political action against Operation Springboard and in support of independence for Puerto Rico mounted by G.I. support groups in the eastern U.S.

Over 50 people from the East Coast and Puerto Rico participated in a joint conference of the National Lawyers Guild and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party on Feb. 8 in New York City. The objectives of the conference were to define perspectives for and areas of anti-colonial legal work, and to establish a working relationship between the participants.

The conference was divided into four workshops dealing with repression, military occupation, the sterilization campaign against Puerto Rican women, and labor. Each workshop outlined programs of work all within the context of affirming the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican people and opposing all forms of U.S. colonial domination over Puerto Rico.

Some examples of workshop proposals were to begin litigation for the release of the Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners; to organize and hold a seminar on the Agricultural Workers Association; to immediately file a Freedom of Information Act request on the use of the "time-capsule" birth control device, Depo-Provera, in U.S. drug companies' experiments in Puerto Rico; and demanding an Environmental Impact statement from the United States Government in regard to the use of Puerto Rican islands for Navy target practice and the use of the Puerto Rican national territory by the military in general. For further information contact Rick Wagner of the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

(From Grapes of Wrath, Jan. 1, 1975)

#### STOP SPRINGBOARD!

Each year about this time, the United States government sponsors a massive military training exercise in and around the waters of Puerto Rico. The exercise, called "Operation Springboard", usually involves units from all branches of the U.S. military, as well as from some of the different NATO countries. The operation, while a major event in the military calendar, has traditionally been a fairly routine affair. This year, however, the training event will be met by a counter-operation: and educational and organizing campaign called "Springboard to What?"

The GI Movement which grew out of the anti-war and anti-racist struggles among U.S. enlisted people in the late '60's has matured and developed as an openly anti-imperialist movement in the '70's. Although much fewer in numbers, active-duty and civilian organizers are daily carrying out agitation, propaganda, and organizing among the enlisted ranks around the issues of U.S. foreign policy, domestic repression against labor and Third World people, male supremacy, anti-gay discrimination, job safety, military democracy, and freedom of speech and political association for GIs. In the Southeastern U.S., the GI Movement is represented by the Defense Committees of Tidewater (Va.), Jacksonville (N.C.), Charleston (S.C.), the Ft. Bragg GI Union (N.C.), and the Black Military Resistance League, an organization of Black GIs, vets, and civilian supporters that concentrates its energies on organizing Black GIs. It is these groups that have organized the anti-Springboard campaign.

"Springboard" is a readiness training exercise. This year, about 20 naval ships from Norfolk, Charleston, and Mayport, Florida will operate with 10 British vessels, three U.S. subs, 50-75 planes from the Dutch and U.S. Air Forces, and units of Marines from Camp LeJeune, N.C. These combined forces will spend the last week in January and the months of February and March practicing such arts of modern warfare as anti-submarine and anti-air warfare, spotting for gunfire support, fire control, and on-land gun shots. The exercise has traditionally included an amphibious Marine assault and paratrooper landing on the island of Vieques, but this more dramatic aspect of the operation has reportedly been cancelled this year.

"Rosey Roads" is one of the largest military installations in the world, covering 37,000 acres of land with a value conservatively estimated at \$300 million. This base, and the allied facilities of the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Range (Culebra, Vieques, etc.), is one of the most complete training and testing areas in the world. Several major commands are located there which plan and implement cruises to Africa, South America, and the entire Caribbean area, forcing Puerto Rico into the role of an important base for U.S. imperialism overseas.

In addition, the bases located in the Southeastern US—Norfolk, Bragg, and LeJeune in particular—make up 10% of the total US military strength, and constitute the primary "strike force" that would be used in the event of US aggression in the Mid-East, the Mediterranean, southern Africa, and the Caribbean.

How have these forces been used in the past?

**Puerto Rico—1962:** US troops used to crush the Nationalist Rebellion.

**Guatemala—1964:** US amphibious units and fire-support back up a rightwing government threatened by a popular revolt. The US has major economic investments in that country, especially by the United Fruit Company.

**Cuba—1960, 1961:** Two efforts which involved military aid and support for an amphibious landing, conducted under the mistaken impression that the Cuban people were about to "rise up" against their own government. The Cuban revolutionary example was beginning to make too big an impression on the people of other Latin American countries, and was seen as a threat to US political, financial, and military control of that area.

**Panama—1964:** Military support to help break a nationalist rebellion. Washington was worried it might lose control over "its" Canal Zone.

**Dominican Republic—1965:** An amphibious landing in support of a puppet government being threatened by a popular rebellion. Again, heavy economic investment by US corporations, especially the United Fruit Co.

**Chile—1973:** US ships taking part in the annual Unitas cruise just "happen" to be steaming off the coast of Chile during the recent brutal military coup. The US had extensive investments in Chile, especially by ITT, Anaconda, and other mining companies.

**Puerto Rico—1977:** Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. 80% of the economy is controlled by US corporations—which pay no taxes on the island—leaving the majority of the people desperately poor and oppressed. The desire of the Puerto Rican people to determine their own destiny has generally taken the form of the struggle for independence, which places them on a head-on collision course with the US military.

The desire on the part of Pentagon planners and the ruling class they represent to maintain this ability to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of other countries forms the basis for "Operation Springboard."

But "Springboard" holds nothing good in store for rank-and-file GI's. Each year during this exercise, enlisted people are forced to work long, back-breaking hours with machinery that is pushed far past its capacity for safe operating. The combination of fatigue and poor safety conditions results in injuries and even death. Resentment against these oppressive conditions combined with a basic distrust of the political motivations for US foreign policy are making more and more GI's look for a political explanation for the purposes of "Springboard." "Springboard to What?" is intended to offer just such an explanation.

The Defense Committees, Ft. Bragg GI Union, and the Black Military Resistance League have begun circulating a petition to "Stop Springboard." The petition addressed to the Congress of the United States, reads in part:

"We the undersigned active-duty men and women, military families and private citizens are opposed to the military training exercise called 'OPERATION SPRINGBOARD.' 'Operation Springboard' is part of our training in providing fire support for suppressing rebellions in countries like Puerto Rico . . . The struggle of the Puerto Rican people to take control of their own country is just like the struggle of enlisted people or US civilian workers to take control over our own lives. As working people ourselves, we support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for their independence, and call on you to take whatever actions are necessary to STOP OPERATION SPRINGBOARD!"

The petition campaign is being accompanied by distribution of a 16-page pamphlet, in English and Spanish, that explains the history of Puerto Rico, the colonial plans for the "Super-Port", the independence movement on the island, and the political significance of "Operation Springboard". 6400 of these pamphlets are being distributed among the soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen, and airwomen taking part in "Springboard". Meetings are being set up among GI's to discuss the campaign, and to present the slide show, "The Super-Port Means No More Puerto Rico", made available by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. On January 25th, members of the Committees, the GI Union, and the League will join with other progressive forces in Norfolk, Virginia to hold a demonstration and rally calling for self-determination for the Puerto Rican people and an end to "Operation Springboard". The main speakers at the rally will be an active-duty member of the Defense Committee/Tidewater who took part in last year's "Springboard", and Jose Navarro, member of the political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Petitioning and distribution of the pamphlet will then continue in Puerto Rico itself by active-duty GI's and civilian supporters.

In short, "Springboard to What?" promises to be the most massive educational and organizing campaign yet carried out among US servicemen and women in support of self-determination for the Puerto Rican people, and is a reflection of the growing anti-imperialist sentiment among northamerican GI's.

Anyone wishing to help us in this campaign should get in touch with us as soon as you can.

## ¡QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE! STOP SPRINGBOARD!

[From Direct from Cuba, Oct. 30, 1970]

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE IMPOSES ITS RHYTHM

(By Joaquin Andrade)

The first and second time they came to Cuba, they tested the edge of their machetes. They became enthusiastic and returned to tell their experiences in the U.S., to show their calloused hands, their sun-tanned arms and faces and the straw hats they had kept as souvenirs. That small group of young men and women then lived through the great experience: "We now have the absolute certainty that American propaganda lies shamelessly!"

This time the Brigade averages 18 years (an obvious fact in the camp) and comes for different reasons: some have been discriminated against and don't forget, others were locked up in reform schools because as children they belonged to Chicano or Puerto Rican gangs; and others instinctively reject wars and violence.

The 406 members of the third Venceremos Brigade come from the four corners of the United States and are working in the citrus project of the Revolution in the Isle of Pines.

### COMPAÑERO IN THE CAMP

At 5:00 A.M. the "de pie" (on your feet) is heard and the colorful kerchiefs, shirts, headbands begin to move. Eight hours of hard work await them, almost as hard as their day in New York, Alabama, Buffalo, or California, but the "nigger" there is the comrade here; the "dirty Indian" of the reservation becomes a friend; the "chicano" or puertorican of the slums becomes a Latin American brother. Eight hours of fertilizing, sowing, picking fruit under the hot, tropical sun but they are volunteers, and although there's no time for smiles because the effort is too great, from time to time they can breathe deep, take a small break, dry their brow, and drink water.

### IMPOSING THEIR VISION

The first impression of the camp can be disconcerting for an unprepared observer: Evelyn, an eighteen-year old black girl dresses with African robes; Ramón, a young Cheyenne Indian has long braids, and Rene, a black Puerto Rican, has an enormous head of hair ("Why should I cut it? This is my natural hair, so why should I accept the esthetic concepts of the whites? They tell me 'this' is beautiful and 'that' is ugly and it invariably turns out that what is ugly is my race . . .").

The first impression fades rapidly, as if the multicolor dresses, strange hairdos, headbands, beards,—and the enthusiastic look of the big boy who runs to greet the group of small Vietnamese—were imposing its vision of the world.

### PIONEERS

So far, more than 1,300 Americans have come to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. The first were the 260 courageous pioneers who broke the blockade; the second group consisted of 650 young men and women, and the third consisted of 406 who worked in the Isle of Youth during the month of September.

The original idea to create the Brigade started with a group of young Americans who visited Cuba for the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution; they proposed the idea to Fidel of sending no more than 25 young people to contribute their technical skills. The suggestion was analyzed and finally Fidel and the Americans proposed the creation of a "Venceremos" Brigade to participate in the Harvest of the Ten Millions.

Official circles in the United States began to get uneasy. Some senator suggested that drastic measures be taken to prevent the Brigade members from becoming dangerous agitators upon their return to U.S. soil. But the youngsters were not intimidated: three brigades have come to date and more are expected in the near future.

#### "REALLY LEARNING"

They attend lectures, on Central-America (specifically on Guatemala) and on Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. They know very little of what is happening south of the Rio Bravo. Exclamations are heard when a Guatemalan comrade tells them how many children die every year in his country or when a young Brazilian tells them the life expectancy of the northeast of his country, when they find out that political prisoners are savagely tortured with the advice and training of American agents. "The most useful part of trip, up to now, has been the lectures", commented a Puerto Rican, "We are really learning". And they ask constantly, with great eagerness: Susan wants to clear up some confused points of Marighela's "Mini-manual of urban guerrilla"; Bob would like to know how the Tupamaros function and organize themselves because "we could do the same in many cities of the United States"; a blond long-haired young man worries about "What actions could we carry out to cooperate with Latin American revolutionaries in their struggle against Yankee imperialism?"

Undoubtedly many of the young people of the Venceremos Brigade have gathered fundamental experiences during their brief stay in the Isle of Pines.

The Cuban Prime Minister opened a parenthesis to publicly thank the 400 members of the Venceremos Brigade, made up of young North Americans from 25 states of the union and by young Puerto Ricans (the 400 were present on the reviewing stand).

Fidel Castro announced that the brigade, which worked in the Isle of Pines citrus groves to the south of Havana province, has worked well in the fertilization, planting, picking and irrigation of the fruit. The brigade also built a childcare center.

The Cuban leader then outlined a new task for the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution: saving electricity.

After Fidel Castro offered figures on the increase in the resumption of electricity in recent years, both in industry and dwellings since in Cuba all current is generated by thermoelectric plants, the increase has meant greater petroleum expenditures.

He announced that despite the new plants in Cienfuegos and Nuevitás (in the central and eastern parts of the country, respectively), the western region will continue to confront deficits, especially during the peak evening hours of greatest consumption.

Fidel Castro said that the industrial sector must take specific electricity-saving measures to aid the success of the program.

Fidel Castro ended his speech by expressing his condolences to the people of Egypt and the Arab peoples for the death today of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The Cuban Prime Minister called Nasser "one of the most outstanding leaders and one of the figures of greatest authority in the Arab world." He said that his death at this time "is a severe blow for the revolutionary movements."

Fidel Castro declared: "We want to publicly express our profound sorrow to the people of the United Arab Republic and to the Arab peoples, and convey to them our condolence and solidarity."

[From the Venceremos Brigade Bulletin]

#### EASTLAND "INTERNAL SECURITY" REPORT—VB CONDEMNS NEW WITCH HUNT

The Venceremos Brigade was the primary target of a special report from Senator James O. Eastland's Subcommittee on Internal Security made public April 10 in Washington. The Brigade released the following statement concerning the Subcommittee's findings:

"The Venceremos Brigade must comment on the special report issued last week by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security, titled, 'Investigation of the Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean'. What follows this inflammatory title is an avalanche of crude, factually outrageous, and slanderous charges against the Brigade, concluding by labelling it a 'tool of (the)

Cuban intelligence apparatus', and 'one of the most extensive and dangerous infiltration operations ever undertaken by a foreign power against the United States'.

At a time when 75% of the U.S. public supported by members in Congress itself favor an end to the blockade against Cuba, it is logical that diehards without integrity would resort to the most shameful tactic—a full-scale witch hunt—frantically trying to give new credence to the present criminal U.S. policies. For them, the tattered image of the communist threat from Cuba is the grand justification for continuing both the economic embargo and an imposed ignorance about Cuba in this country.

Twenty-two years ago, in the name of 'national security', Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were murdered, countless other innocent people imprisoned or driven from their homes and jobs, and the entire nation thrown into a state of fear and suspicion. Common working people were suddenly elevated to the title of nuclear spies, allegedly gaining access to the top military secrets of the U.S. government, as agents of an international conspiracy. This was certainly one of the most tragic and shameful periods of American history.

Ever since then, some tottering reactionaries in the U.S. Senate have tried to revive those old days. In the Subcommittee's report, they dredge up a new version of the 'nuclear spy theory', complete with code names, intelligence officers posing as waiters, and indoctrination sessions for naive 'political dupes'. Behind this is supposedly a vast network of over 2,000 U.S. citizens accused of 'infiltrating' their own country in the service of Cuba's 'intelligence directorate.' These fantastic lies and distortions must be completely exposed. The Venceremos Brigade grew out of the movements of the sixties: the millions who demonstrated their outrage at the massive U.S. military invasion of Indochina, and the disastrous failure of the 'Great Society' to guarantee even the most minimal human and civil rights to the nation's racial minorities. It was activists from these movements who travelled on the first Venceremos Brigade in 1969, demonstrating once more their repudiation of our government's aggressive foreign policies by breaking the U.S. blockade against Cuba. It is no accident that Cuba—a country that was sending medical brigades to Vietnam while the U.S. was sending bombs—made a strong impression upon these visitors.

This beginning is a far cry from what the Subcommittee would have us believe—that the Venceremos brigade was a vicious scheme plotted by 'Cuban intelligence' experts, and implemented 'through the clever manipulation of a small group of leftist radicals.'

What is the real reason for the whole train of absurd charges levelled against the Brigade? Over the last few years, the Brigade has sent 2500 young people to Cuba, who have returned to the U.S. to tell their friends, neighbors and co-workers what they saw in socialist Cuba. The Brigade, with the support of many groups, has organized large public events in 14 major U.S. cities—such as EXPO-CUBA and CUBA CHILE '74. For the first time, thousands of Americans have received a glimpse of what Brigade members saw for themselves in Cuba: not the nation of disguised spies pictured by the Subcommittee, but a nation united by the common goals of providing a decent life for all its people; eliminating all forms of racial and economic injustice; and pursuing a foreign policy based upon cooperation, and respect for the sovereignty of nations. The Brigade activities, by contrast, have also exposed the brutal nature of U.S. foreign policy—from the carpet bombing and kidnapping of children in Indochina, to the hiring of mercenaries for the Bay of Pigs fiasco; to the open plotting of the CIA to overthrow socialist Cuba in Chile.

It is no wonder that those in Congress who have not only defended these criminal policies would now abuse the legislative process in a cynical attempt to discredit the work of the Venceremos Brigade and spread still another series of lies about the Cuban people.

The nature of the Subcommittee's sham investigation is further revealed by the fact that not one of the criminals who have publicly claimed credit for terrorist actions against the Venceremos Brigade has been found worthy of 'investigation'—let alone termed a 'threat to internal security'. Those responsible for the 1973 bombing of a national trade union center in New York's EXPOCUBA, the bombing of a church during a 1974 Cuban film festival in Los Angeles, or the recent terrorist raids and racist threats against the families of Brigade organizers in the South have never been arrested, tried or punished. These bandits have committed true crimes, and they are the ones who constitute the real threat to the security of the U.S. people. We demand that the silent complicity be ended, and these criminals be brought to justice.



For our part, the Venceremos Brigade will continue to respond to the growing interest of the U.S. public in the Cuban Revolution, and will continue its efforts to present an accurate picture of the achievements of the Cuban people, to strengthen the ties between the U.S. people and the people of Cuba, and to oppose all forms of U.S. aggression."

\* \* \*

To Our Readers: We urge you to use all means at your disposal to publicly protest the witch-hunt tactics being pursued by the Eastland Subcommittee—including newsletters of your own, newspapers, magazines, letters to the editor of local press, and a strong letter of protest to the Subcommittee itself. (Address: Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, c/o Sen. James O. Eastland, Washington, D.C. 20520.) We would appreciate receiving a copy of any statements you make, as well as your suggestions for additional ways to effectively expose and denounce the Subcommittee's 'Investigation'. Thank you for your support. Venceremos!—Eds.

[From the Daily World, Apr. 30, 1975]

#### VENCEREMOS GROUP NAILS UNIT'S SLANDERS

New York, April 29.—The Venceremos Brigade to Cuba was the primary target of a special report by Sen. James O. Eastland's Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security, made public recently in Washington. The Venceremos Brigade, which has broken the U.S. government's blockade of Cuba by sending over 2,000 U.S. citizens to the island since 1969, denounced the report as an "avalanche of crude, factually outrageous, and slanderous charges against the Brigade."

The Subcommittee report slanderously labeled the Brigade as a "tool of Cuban intelligence."

The Brigade declared:

"At a time when 75 percent of the U.S. public, supported by members in Congress, favor an end to the blockade against Cuba, it is logical that diehards without integrity would resort to the most shameful tactic—a full scale witchhunt—frantically trying to give new credence to the present criminal U.S. policies.

"What is the real reason for the whole train of absurd charges leveled against the Brigade? Over the last few years the Brigade has sent 2,500 young people to Cuba, who have returned to the U.S. to tell their friends, neighbors and co-workers what they saw in socialist Cuba. The Brigade, with the support of many groups, has organized large public events in 14 major U.S. cities—such as EXPOCUBA and CUBA CHILE '74.

"For the first time, thousands of Americans have received a glimpse of what Brigade members saw for themselves in Cuba: not the nation of disguised spies pictured by the Subcommittee, but a nation united by the common goals of providing a decent life for all its people; eliminating all forms of racial and economic injustice; and pursuing a foreign policy based upon cooperation, and respect for the sovereignty of nations.

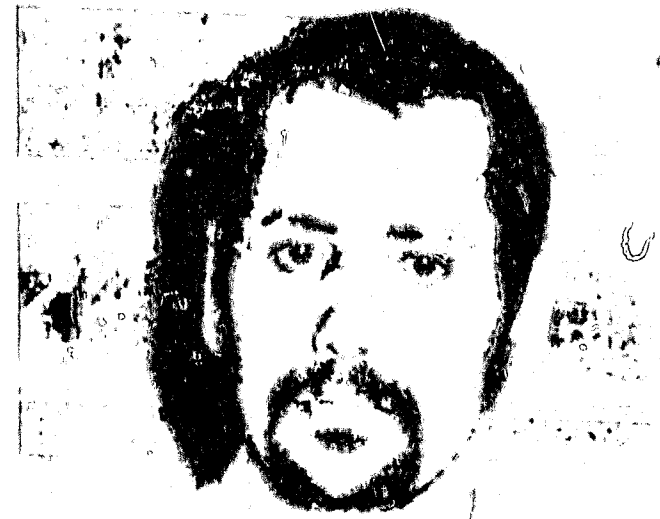
"The Brigade activities, by contrast, have also exposed the brutal nature of U.S. foreign policy—from the carpet-bombing and kidnapping of children in Indochina; to the hiring of mercenaries for the Bay of Pigs fiasco; to the open plotting of the barbaric fascist coup in Chile.

"The nature of the Subcommittee's sham investigation is further revealed by the fact that not one of the criminals who have publicly claimed credit for terrorist actions against the Venceremos Brigade has ever been found worthy of 'investigation,' let alone termed a 'threat to internal security.'

"Those responsible for the 1973 bombing of a national trade union center at New York's Expo-Cuba, the bombing of a church during a 1974 Cuban film festival in Los Angeles, or the recent terrorist raids and racist threats against the families of Brigade organizers in the South have never been arrested, tried or punished.

"For our part, the Venceremos Brigade will continue to respond to the growing interest of the U.S. public in the Cuban Revolution, and will continue its efforts to present an accurate picture of the achievements of the Cuban people, to strengthen the ties between the U.S. people and the people of Cuba, and to oppose all forms of U.S. aggression."

#### BACKGROUND OF PUERTO RICAN TERRORISTS



FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS

Date of Birth: 1933  
Place of Birth: Barrio Rio de Naguabo, Puerto Rico  
Height: 5'7"  
Weight: 175 lbs.  
Complexion: Dark  
Occupation: Musician

Filiberto Ojeda Rios is an excellent trumpet player and has played with various orchestras of renown, such as the Miguelito Miranda Orchestra in 1955; with Vicentico Valdes Orchestra from 1958 to 1960 in New York; and with the Sonora Ponceña de Quique Lucas Orchestra in Ponce in 1963.

Filiberto Ojeda Rios entered the University of Puerto Rico in 1948 at age 15 but, because of an argument about his career, he left home to dedicate himself to music. After a lengthy stay in New York, he returned to Puerto Rico in 1955, married to Blanca Iris Serrano and had two sons.

Upon his return to Puerto Rico, he went to live with his father and returned to the University of Puerto Rico while, at the same time, was employed by the Miguelito Miranda Orchestra. After only three months stay, Ojeda returned to New York with his family.

According to Puerto Rican police authorities, Filiberto Ojeda Rios went to Cuba in 1961 with his family, and became a member of the Cuban D.G.I.



In 1963, Filiberto Ojeda Rios was assigned a secret mission to Puerto Rico. His mission involved U.S. military bases on the Island. As a cover, he used his occupation as a musician and found employment with the Orchestra of Quique Lucas "La Sonora Ponceña". At that time, he took up residence in the Calle Hoare de Santurce and used the name of Felipe Ortega. Upon completion of his mission, he returned to Cuba the same year.

While in Cuba, he established close contacts with Narciso Rabell Martinez who, at the time, was acting as unofficial Ambassador of Puerto Rico in Cuba. It is believed that when the wave of terrorist firebombings and arsons in American supermarkets in Puerto Rico began in 1967, Filiberto Ojeda Rios supplied the technical expertise for the preparation of the explosive devices.

In 1968, Narciso Rabell and Roberto Todd Pagan returned to Puerto Rico and joined the Socialist Workers Party in Aguadilla, which, at the time, was under the leadership of Wilson Cortes Burgos. Other members were: David Feliciano, Ramon Vargas, Billy Cajigas, Manuel Lopez Lopez, Pablo Luis Gonzalez Arce, and Rafael Capella Rivero.

Immediately afterwards, following a plan elaborated in Cuba in which Fidel Castro was alleged to have participated, Filiberto Ojeda, Roberto Todd, and Narciso Rabell created an armed section within the Socialist Workers Party, and named it M.I.R.A. (Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario Armado).

Todd and Rabell, trained the M.I.R.A. members in the handling of explosives for terrorist attacks. M.I.R.A. carried out an extensive terrorist campaign in December of 1969, in the resort area of San Juan, Puerto Rico. As a result of these terrorist attacks, most of the group was arrested with the exception of Filiberto Ojeda Rios, who is still at large after having jumped bail.

#### HISTORY OF TERRORIST GROUPS OPERATING IN PUERTO RICO

##### ARMED COMMANDOS FOR LIBERATION (C.A.L.)

The existence of this clandestine organization, composed of the most radical elements of the MPI and other leftist organizations, was publicly announced for the first time on February 22, 1968. On that date a communique was distributed stating the aims and objectives of C.A.L., namely:

1. To obtain the national liberation through armed action.
2. To end with the monopolistic control of industry and commerce in P.R. by American owned firms.
3. To expel all U.S. companies from Puerto Rico.

They promised to burn one hundred million dollars worth of U.S. property.

From that date on they claim to have carried out more than 45 terrorist actions causing an estimated loss of over 15 million dollars.

*Brief summary of the investigation of the fire at Woolworth's store, stop 18, Santurce, on September 19, 1969*

Based on the fire concentration, two points of ignition were found in the first floor and one point of ignition device were found in the search of the scene. The investigation performed by our agents failed to uncover any lead or to develop a suspect of causing this fire.

The Armed Commandos for Liberation claim credit for this action.

*Brief summary of the investigation of the fire at Barkers, Capurra Shopping Center, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, on January 9, 1970*

At 8:30 P.M., January 9, 1970, a fire broke out at Barker's store in Santurce totally destroying the store.

An analysis of the scene revealed that the fire started in the rear end of the building, in the hardware storage area and also in the shoe storage area. No traces of incendiary devices were found. However any incendiary device initiated by acid could have been used without leaving any trace.

The electric system was carefully inspected. A series of short circuits was found in the hardware and shoe storage area. However we can not affirm they were responsible for this fire.

An investigation conducted by our agents developed some leads and a suspect was found. However lack of evidence prevented us from presenting charges.

The Armed Commandos for Liberation (C.A.L.) claims the credit for this fire.



NESTOR RISCOLDO NAZARIO TRABAL

Date of Birth: November 25, 1940  
Place of Birth: Mayaguez, Puerto Rico  
Height: 5'7"

Weight: 117

Occupation: Student

Residence: Calle Loiza, #1807, Santurce, Puerto Rico

Member of the Secretariat of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party

##### M.I.R.A. (MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO ARMADO)

Organized during the latter part of the year 1966 and the beginning of 1967 in Havana, Cuba by Narciso Rabell Martinez, Roberto Todd Pagan and a third unknown person. It is believed that Dr. Fidel Castro participated in the organization of M.I.R.A. together with Todd and Rabell.

Early in the year 1967, Roberto Todd Pagan and Narciso Rabell Martinez arrived from Cuba and joined the Workers Socialist Party (P.S.O.). The P.S.O. was headed by Wilson Cortes Burgos with central headquarters located in the city of Aguadilla. In 1968 they started training their members in explosives, terrorism and sabotage techniques. Rabell and Todd incorporated M.I.R.A. into the P.S.O.

On February 1969 M.I.R.A. planted explosive devices at Government Development Bank, Howard Johnson Hotel and Police Traffic Station of Police of Puerto Rico. A week later, an explosive device went off at the Selective Service Office in Isabela, Puerto Rico. In connection with these incidents were arrested Wilson Cortés Burgos, David Feliciano Feliciano, Pablo Luis González Arce, Ramón Vargas Pérez, Rafael Capella Rivera, Narciso Rabell Martínez, and Roberto Todd Pagán. Rabell, Todd, Cajigas and Lopez were charged with conspiracy and the others were charged with violations of the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico.

Recently Rafael Capella Rivera, Wilson Cortés Burgos, David Feliciano Feliciano, Ramón Vargas Pérez, Billy Cajigas and Manuel López López were tried and convicted in Superior Court in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico and no sentence has been imposed as yet. No date has been set on the trial of Narciso Rabell Martínez and Roberto Todd Pagán to be held in San Juan. Todd Pagán, while free on bail, went underground and his whereabouts are unknown. Pablo Luis González Arce became a witness for the prosecution and was granted immunity.

M.I.R.A. has organized cells in Bayamón and Río Piedras, Puerto Rico and in New York City. At the end of 1969 they planted explosive devices in different hotels in the Metropolitan Area of San Juan, Puerto Rico. In connection with these bombings William Pintado Burgos, José Antonio Castillo, Carlos Fonseca and his wife, Adelina Ramírez were arrested. Arrest orders were also issued for Roberto Todd Pagán and one Ruben (last name unknown) who was later identified as Filiberto Ojeda, a Puerto Rican who is a resident of Cuba and a Cuban undercover agent.

At the beginning of 1970 a series of explosions and fires occurred in the Metropolitan Area of San Juan as well as in the Eastern Area of Puerto Rico. Confidential informants indicated these incidents were instigated by Todd and Ojeda who were operating clandestinely in Puerto Rico. At the beginning of 1970, Police discovered that Todd and Ojeda were operating a sabotage network in Puerto Rico which included lawyers and other persons who were providing the network with hideouts, money, and legal advice.

During the Police investigations, arms, explosives and a mimeograph machine were seized from discovered hideouts. It has also been determined, that the M.I.R.A. group planned to assassinate government functionaries, destroy electric power stations, and assault radio stations, with the help of some members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.

The main purpose of M.I.R.A. is to overthrow the legally constituted government of Puerto Rico, through force and violence, in order to establish in Puerto Rico a Cuban type Communist form of government.

#### BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE PARTIDO SOCIALISTA OBRERO (P.S.O.) (SOCIALIST WORKER'S PARTY)

##### I. ORIGIN

The Partido Socialista Obrero was organized March 29, 1968, in a meeting held at the residence of David Feliciano Feliciano, Barrio Guerrero, Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. Most of its members are teachers by profession.

On May 11, 1968, the creation of this party was publicly announced at a meeting sponsored by the Puerto Rico Socialist League, at the public plaza, in Lares.

##### II. ACTIVE MEMBERS

1. Wilson Cortes Burgos
2. David Feliciano Feliciano
3. Rafael Capella Rivera
4. Billy Cajigas Soto
5. Ramón Vargas Pérez
6. Manuel López López
7. Pablo Luis González Arce
8. Juan Inés Crespo Roldán
9. Néstor Velázquez Díaz

Fourteen (14) sympathizers.

##### III. OBJECTIVES

To seek and bring about the independence of Puerto Rico and the creation of a socialist government through an armed revolution of the workers masses. To attack American owned firms in Puerto Rico and to teach the people to fight the FBI, CIA and Police.

#### IV. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Wilson Cortes Burgos, Secretary General  
David Feliciano Feliciano, Secretary of Organization  
Billy Cajigas Soto, Secretary of Political Action  
Pablo L. González Arce, Secretary of Workers Affairs  
Néstor Velázquez Díaz, Secretary of Youth  
Manuel López López, Secretary of Propaganda  
Héctor Rodríguez Rodríguez, Secretary of International Affairs

##### V. COUNSELORS

Narciso Rabell Martínez  
Roberto José Todd Pagán  
Juan A. Corretjer Montes

##### VI. FACILITIES

None. The PSO held its meetings at public places or in the house of one of its members.

##### VII. FINANCE

The group was supported by its own members and sympathizers who pay monthly dues. Additional funds were obtained through public collections, donations and the sale of party propaganda.

##### VIII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The PSO established relations with the government of Cuba and the Dominican Republic Communist Party. The Secretary of International Affairs works off New York seeking funds and support for the organization.

##### IX. SECURITY MEASURES

Members of the PSO were organized in cells, composed of no more than three members each. They also adopted an alias or code name.

##### X. POLICE INTERVENTION WITH PSO MEMBERS

On April 29, 1969, eight members of the PSO were arrested in Aguadilla by members of the Puerto Rico Police and charged with violations of the Explosives Law and Conspiracy.

On July 2, 1970, Wilson Cortes, Rafael Capella, Ramón Vargas Pérez and David Feliciano were found guilty of violation to the Explosives Law. Manuel López López and Billy Cajigas Soto were found guilty of Conspiracy. No sentence has been imposed as yet. Pablo Luis González Arce acted as a witness for the prosecution during the trial and was granted immunity.

On May 1, 1969, Narciso Rabell Martínez and Roberto J. Todd Pagán were arrested by Police Agents in Santurce and charged with violations to the Explosives Law and Conspiracy. No date has been set yet for the trial.

##### XI. PRESENT ACTIVITIES

PSO members, according to our source, are reorganizing under a different name, however their goals and means remain unchanged.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF PUERTO RICO "PILOT PLAN," ORGANIZED AND DIRECTED BY DR. ANA LIVIA CORDERO

On February 26, 1967 the Executive Committee of the Pro Independence Movement (PIM) met on the second floor of the "cafeteria Hollywood" in Río Piedras. Dr. Ana Livia Cordero-Garcés proposed a plan before the committee to begin preparing the people for the fight towards the independence of Puerto Rico. Such a plan is known by the name of "Pilot Project" and is carried on in the following manner:

1. Twelve (12) young men are trained for a period of Fifteen (15) months.
2. They are provided with clothing, food, shelter and \$25.00 a month for their personal expenses.
3. Their training will encompass learning to drive a car, learning to repair typewriters and mimeograph machines, how to operate tape recorders and other similar equipment.

A meeting with the 12 candidates was scheduled so as to provide them with instructions concerning the project.

This project will be sponsored by persons who do not belong to the Pro Independence Movement, but who financially support it; their names were not disclosed. Some of them donated the money for shelter, others for the personal expenses, and some donated the food and clothing to be used.

The project was approved by the committee and they offered to back it up.

During March of 1967 the "Claridad" newspaper, informer of PIM, began to publish articles requesting volunteers for the project. Those showing a desire to participate in the project wrote to Dr. Ana Livia Cordero c/o PIM, 1142 Ponce de León Ave., Río Piedras.

On April 9, 1967 a meeting was held in the residence of Juan Francisco René-Marquez at 1st. St., Villa Nevárez, Río Piedras. It was agreed upon to begin the course of instruction on April 10, 1967 and the following candidates were selected:

1. Luis Manuel Santiago Martínez
2. Ramón Malavé González
3. Efraín Negrón Rodríguez
4. Iris Jackson Moya
5. David Pagán Borrero
6. William Pintado Burgos
7. Raúl Mayo Santana
8. Hans Vicente Cardona
9. Samuel Avilés Aponte
10. Néstor M. Sánchez Ortíz
11. Carlos Alberto Ocasio Rivera
12. Juan Manuel Rivera Negrón

The following persons will act as instructors:

1. Dr. Ana Livia Cordero Garcés
2. Attorney Lorenzo Piñero Rivera
3. Prof. Manrique Cabrera
4. Prof. Juan Angel Silén Acevedo
5. Santos Colón Aponte
6. César Andreu Iglesias
7. Dr. Carmen Rivera de Alvarado
8. Juan Francisco René Marquéz
9. Howard Slanton
10. Silvia Echegaray Bonilla

Said course of instruction began on April 10, 1968 at the residence on Road 873, Kilometer 19.5, Barriada Tortugo, Río Piedras. This residence is the property of Mrs. Francisca Rodríguez-Botancourt who lives at 1124-54 St. SE, Reparto Metropolitano, Río Piedras. The house was leased to Dr. Cordero for \$135.00 per month. The house is described as follows:

Two-story house. Lower story is made of concrete and the upper story consists of wood framing and zinc roof. It is painted blue and has a terrace with aluminum curtains. The second story is used for meetings and as living quarters for the young men. The first floor is used for typing work.

This group utilizes a white, Ford, panel truck as a means of transportation. This panel truck is the property of Dr. Cordero.

During the following days instruction on different subjects will take place. Among the subjects covered there will be self-defense (Judo & Karate) taught by professor Santos Colón-Aponte. The course of instruction will end in January 1968.

In a meeting held in the office of attorney Juan Hernández-Valle in Bayamón, P.R., Dr. Cordero exposed a new plan of *revolutionary work* for the group. The plan encompasses the following:

1. In this "movement" there will be no talks about politics with the populace.
2. Poor families living in slums will be interviewed so that they can express their problems and this way attempt to have them revolt against the government or demand a solution to their problems.
3. During the visit of government officials to the slums, the residents will be impelled to perform acts of violence against the government officials.
4. A group of individuals having a violent-nature will be organized, so as to face any police intervention.
5. This group will *not* use means of protest such as boycotts, public meetings, marches, etc.

6. It was suggested that the name of Revolutionary Movement be used in reference to the group.

In a meeting held on October 12, 1967 at the residence of the parents of Efraín Negrón, Barrio Cedro Abajo, Naranjito, Dr. Ana Livia Cordero & Miguel Hernández-Mathews expressed that their group has decided to extricate themselves from the Pro Independence Movement (PIM). That attorney Juan Mari-Bras had accused 5 members of PIM Youth of being agents for CIA. That the PIM was infiltrated by such agents and that Juan Mari-Bras himself was an agent,

The young men expelled from the PIM were:

1. Rubén Alvarez Rodríguez
2. Antonio Peron
3. Rafael Rosado
4. Wilfredo Nuñez Laureano

The town of Vega Baja was selected to start the revolutionary work.

This new organization has the aim of creating a leader out of each member. Those that are ready have begun forming smaller groups to go and live among the poor people with problems so that at the same time that they give a helping hand they also indoctrinate them in revolutionary ideas.

To carry on such a task, groups were organized in the following places.

1. Barrio Bucarabones—Ton Alta
2. Callo Marina, Barriada Juana Matos—Cataño
3. Calle Los Pinos, Barriada Juana Matos—Cataño
4. Barrio Guaraguao—Bayamón
5. Barrio Sabana—Vega Baja
6. Proyecto Central, Barrio Tortugo—Río Piedras

This organization does not have a specific place to hold their meetings for two reasons:

1. Not to be discovered by agents.
2. To force the militants to participate directly in their work.

On February 21, 1968 it was announced that the first ten volunteers had completed their training phase and were already living in the community.

This group or movement was given close surveillance for 24 hours between February and March 1968 until Dr. Cordero and most of its members (21) were arrested for various violations of the law on February 28, 1968.

On April 4, 1968 the case was seen in District Court and twelve (12) members of the group were declared guilty. They appealed to a Superior Court.

Other members arrested in Bayamón were set free after trial in the District Court of Bayamón.

During the months following the arrest the movement becomes very inactive and the majority of the members, specially the professionals who acted as instructors, failed to attend the meetings. The members were accusing each other and decided to dissolve the group. Antonio Díaz-Royo, who was one of the founders and a strong column in the movement, decided to quit due to friction arising between himself and Dr. Cordero.

The majority of the members start to use marihuana and there is a sexual lack of respect among the members, resulting in three weddings.

On May 24, 1968 Dr. Ana Livia Cordero and 4 members of the group are arrested for aggression towards the police while an investigation of the place was being performed. They were absolved three months later.

During the month of June 1968 the majority of the members declare before the Civil Rights Commission that they are persecuted by the Police.

During the month of July the movement is at the border of being dissolved due to economic reasons and they even terminate the lease of the house in Barrio Tortugo. They write about a thousand letters to the Black Power of the U.S. and they are visited by negro leader James Rufus Forman and his wife Constance Ramilly.

During the first part of August, Lydia Milagros González arrives from Europe and joins Dr. Ana Livia Cordero in an attempt to reorganize the group.

Presently the movement is completely active and has improved its economic situation.

Their new plan consists of introducing their leaders into Christian Groups no matter what religion the group holds. Once inside the Christian Group they attempt to have control over it and to indoctrinate the members with revolutionary political ideas.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO

Was organized in Puerto Rico in the year 1932, by Alberto E. Sánchez, a leader and member of the Communist Party in the United States.

The first members who joined the organization were:

1. Juan Saez-Corales
2. Etanislao Soler
3. Luis Vergne
4. Juan Santos-Rivera

In 1932, Alberto E. Sánchez received a monthly salary of \$200.00. Also printed communist matter published in english and spanish language, sent from Venezuela by a Supervisor of the Communist Party of United States.

Its goal is:

1. To obtain the independence of Puerto Rico.
2. Laborers improvement under the base of "uniform distribution fruitfulness and uniform prosperity for all".

In 1950, the group consists of approximately 150 members.

In 1959, the Committee of Anti-American Activities of the House of Representatives of United States require the appearance before this Committee, of the following members of this Party:

1. José Enamorado-Cuesta
2. Manuel Arroyo-Zeppenfeldt
3. César Andreu-Iglesias
4. Ramón Diaz-Cruz
5. Juan Saez-Corales
6. Juan Emmanuelli
7. Gertrudis Meléndez-Pérez
8. Consuelo Burgos de Pagán
9. Pablo M. García-Rodríguez
10. John Peter Hawes
11. Eusebio Ruiz-Martínez
12. Juan Santos-Rivera
13. Cristino Pérez-Méndez

At that time, they refused this summons.

Now, this group consists of approximately 40 registered members and sympathizers.

Up to this moment, we don't have any record of violence activities of this group.

#### POLITICAL COMMISSION (POLITBURO)

Juan Mari Bras	Florencio Merced
Julio Vives Vazquez	Manuel de J. Gonzalez
Jenaro Rentas	Flavia Rivera
Angel M. Agosto	Raul Gonzalez Cruz—deceased
Pedro Baiges Chapel	Fermin B. Arraiza
Alberto Marquez	

#### SECRET PARTY STRUCTURE (TERRORISM-ORGANIZATIONAL PENETRATION-ARMED PROPAGANDA)

President (Julio Vives Vazquez)

Secretary General (Juan Mari Bras)

Secretariat

Information and Propaganda—Manuel de J. Gonzalez  
 Cultural and Political Indoctrination Affairs—Alberto Marquez  
 International Relations—Pedro Baiges Chapel  
 Student Affairs—Nestor Nazario Trubal  
 City and Municipal Affairs—Fermin B. Arraiza  
 Labor Affairs—Angel M. Agosto  
 Organization—Jenaro Rentas  
 Finance—Reinaldo Torres

#### Central Committee

Francisco Pérez Gandía, Julio Dávila, Migdalia Ramos, Pedro Santana Ronda, Luis Medina, Félix Cortés, Carlos Delgado, Rubén Berberena, Osvaldo Romero, María de los Milagros Pérez, José Medina, Angel Gandía, Juan Reyes, Joaquín Parrilla, Felipe Cirino, Librado Sáez, Félix Ojeda.  
 Iván Rivera, Firmo Velázquez, Rubén Arcelay, Alejandro Sella, Carlos Paraticeci, Violeta Nazario, Lorenzo Piñeiro Rivera, Juan Raúl Mari Pesquera, Cruz

del Carmen Rodríguez, René Rodríguez, Luis Adorno, Edwin Meléndez, Reinaldo Torres, Angel López, Damaris Martínez, Luis F. Coss, Radamés Acosta, Ramón Arbona, Roy Brown, Néstor Nazario, Rafael Baerga y Luis Eseribano.

Luis Nazario, Lolita Aulet, Benjamin Ortiz Belaval, Dixie Bayó, Carmen Noella López, Luis Corchado Juarbe, Karl Fromm, Rubén Soto, Alberto Márquez, Raúl González, Doris Pizarro, Lucía Romero, Julio Vives Vázquez, Antonio Gaztambide, Alberto Pérez, Julio Muriente, Pedro Grant, Gervasio Morales, Florencio Merced, Jenaro Rentas, Fermin Baltazar Arraiza, Pedro Balgés, Angel Agosto, Flavia Rivera, Manuel de J. González, y Juan Mari Brás.

#### PUERTO RICO SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE—FIDEL CASTRO ATTENDS CLOSING CEREMONIES

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish at 2014 GMT on 8 September 1975 begins live coverage of event being held at the Pedro Albizu Campos rural secondary school of Guines, Havana Province, to mark the end of the International Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico and also to dedicate the school.

As the broadcast begins the Cuban national anthem and the Puerto Rican national song are played. Staff announcer Manolo Ortega then reports that Commander in Chief Fidel Castro is presiding over the event. Others sitting at the presiding table are President of the Republic Osvaldo Dorticos, Puerto Rican Socialist leader Juan Mari Bras, Cuban vice prime minister and ministers, PCC Central Committee members, sons and grandchildren of Pedro Albizu Campos, Noel Colon, chairman of the Puerto Rican peace movement, other leaders of the Puerto Rican independence forces and Cuban leaders of mass organizations.

Announcer Ortega reads the apparent full text of the declaration of the international conference on solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico.

Noel Colon presents the Puerto Rican flag to the school principal.

President Dorticos is then introduced and begins speaking.

#### DORTICOS SPEECH

[Speech by President Osvaldo Dorticos to close International Conference on Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico and dedicate the Pedro Albizu Campos rural secondary school in Guines, Havana—live]

Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC and prime minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, comrades of the presidency, comrade delegates to this conference, comrade professors and students of this school: The holding of this International Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico, which we close today with this event drenched in emotion [laughter] in this school that brings back the beloved memory of Pedro Albizu Campos, has gone well beyond the most optimistic predictions. For the Cuban people, for the Cuban Revolutionary Government, the mere fact that our country has hosted this event, whose practical and historic significance and importance nobody will dare ignore, is a very high honor and a reason for profound satisfaction besides.

Nothing could be more reasonable and natural than to have held this event on Cuban territory. Throughout history the ties between the Puerto Rican and Cuban peoples have been forged under exceptional conditions. The struggles of both have always been part of a common process. In the wars of independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico against Spanish colonialism, those ties became a reality in the significant coincidence of the calls to arms of Lares and Yara, and in the condition of being part of a common and just cause—which had its most evident expression in the visionary concept of Jose Martí on the role of the Antilles in the future of Latin America, when the Cuban revolutionary party was founded to attain, with the joint efforts of all good men, the total independence of the Cuban island and foster and aid that of Puerto Rico—as well as in the participation of illustrious Puerto Ricans, great fighters for the independence of their fatherland, in the Cuban war of independence.

Illustrious sons of Puerto Rico joined the forces of the Cuban mambises. They participated in the 10-year war as part of the mambises forces. In recent days we read with great emotion the long list of names of Puerto Ricans who fought in the wars of independence of our fatherland. We are deeply moved by the memory of Maj Gen Juan Ruis Rivera, who participated in many important actions of the history of our struggles for independence, such as the invasion of Las Villas Province by Maximo Gomez, the quelling of the uprising at the Varona ponds and the Baragua declaration. What a great lesson was given by the illustrious

Puerto Rican, the exceptional personality of the 19th century, Ramon Emeterio Betances, who devoted his life and his work to the independence of the Antilles and joined the Cuban revolutionary forces. What a unity of ideal and revolutionary action was expressed in the example set by Eugenio Maria de Hosto, whose literary work is part of the brilliant history of the Latin American ideal. He was an illustrious Puerto Rican who became a true and determined fighter for the independence of Cuba.

When the Cuban revolutionary party founded by Jose Marti was established, when its platform was unanimously announced by the Cuban and Puerto Rican emigrants on 10 April 1892, the Puerto Rican section of the party was created. Jose Marti's newspaper, PATRIA, whose secretary was Puerto Rican Sotero Figueroa, proclaimed that Puerto Rico and Cuba would be one in the future, just as the calls to arms of Lares and Yara had been one in the past. Today they are one in the preparation, as the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans were one in jail and exile yesterday. They will be one in the action to accelerate the common freedom with renewed effort.

When the real and true independence of Cuba was frustrated by imperialist meddling under the cover of the false republic, when the hope for Puerto Rican freedom was temporarily halted by North American military occupation as a result of the so-called Spanish-American War—which Lenin termed an imperialist war in one of his more creative theoretical works—in the overall course of the struggles of both peoples for real independence, those ties were renewed, and when the Puerto Rican push for independence was one day reinvigorated and reborn under the heroic leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos, it did not have to wait for Cuban solidarity, and the Cuban national junta for the independence of Puerto Rico was established in 1927 under the presidency of an imminent thinker of our fatherland, Enrique Jose Varona.

Since then, profound and close relations have united the revolutionary and humane actions of Cubans and Puerto Ricans. During the decade of the thirties, a very important period of the Cuban process, the Puerto Rican cause was alive in our fatherland as a combative and emotional reality. The Cuban solidarity never ceased to exist. However, the practice of this solidarity reached different qualitative levels when our fatherland attained its real and definitive independence through the revolutionary triumph, while Puerto Rico remains a colonial enclave.

This colonial status has continued in existence to date through different forms of the process of North American imperialist domination which began during the Spanish-American War when Yankee imperialism occupied the Puerto Rican territory militarily on 25 July 1898. The brilliant demonstration of international solidarity given by this conference which we are closing today begins precisely from that reality. Puerto Rico today is a country that has not attained independence and which, since the military occupation and the illegitimate transfer to Yankee domination authorized by the Paris treaty, finds itself to date subjugated to colonial status under the imperialist domination of the United States of North America.

The different periods of that criminal and dramatic history of imperialist and colonial possession by the imperialist administrations of the United States constitute nothing else but a change in methods which have been successively implemented following the same essential domination in varied forms in an attempt to avoid the constant contradiction that exists between the national will for Puerto Rican independence and the will of North American imperialist domination aimed at covering up the shameful reality with shy modesty.

There are several juridical forms of the colonial history of Puerto Rico. The Foraker law, which provided for typical colonial forms of civilian administration, the regime regulated by the so-called Jones law of 2 May 1917, which deprived the Puerto Ricans of their citizenship by imposing North American citizenship on them, the establishment of the associated free state, and finally the plebiscite of 1967—these are some of the happenings that express in chronological order the same colonial and imperialist domination.

It is therefore important to point out the essential characteristics, which cannot be hidden, that show Puerto Rico's position as a country dominated by an imperialist power, as a dependent and colonized country which, to use the language of UN Resolution 1514, still has not attained independence. Economic, political, cultural, institutional and juridical details which form the colonial status of that sister country have been explained to the participants in brilliant and analytical speeches in the course of this conference. I believe, however, that a practical way to bring about development of a vigorous solidarity with the Puerto Rican cause is to carry out the most exhaustive clarification of this situation internationally,

because despite the growth of world solidarity, which has been confirmed by the attendance at the conference and the messages of support generated by the conference, we must not ignore that in some parts of the world, consciences—victims—of the policy of isolation concerning Puerto Rico and of a campaign of deception—do not have deep enough knowledge of the Puerto Rican drama. It is therefore not a waste of time to expose to world public opinion the shameful existence of those elements of colonial domination.

In the economic area, the magnitude of U.S. capital investments, which exceed \$13 billion—equivalent to more than \$1 million per square kilometer—shows the dominating penetration of monopolistic imperialism. This capital controls more than 80 percent of the manufacturing industry and 85 percent of commercial retail sales. It operates almost all maritime and air transportation. It employs 81 percent of the labor force, controls the means of communication, possesses more than 60 percent of the housing construction industry, controls 60 percent of banking operations and, finally, controls 90 percent of industrial export products. Furthermore, Puerto Rico is the number two market for the United States in the American hemisphere and fifth in the world. In this way, the structure of dependence is strengthened through this commercial trend.

Puerto Rico—with its 10 U.S. military bases which occupy more than 10 percent of the arable land, training centers for the imperialist armed forces with their arsenals of thermonuclear armaments, its fields converted into laboratories for chemical and bacteriological warfare tests during the Vietnam war, and a territory for the organization of expeditions for invasions—is a true strategic and military enclave for imperialism in our continent.

This colonialist domination has also been manifested through a growing trans-cultural process, a case of a colonialist culture strongly resisted by the Puerto Rican popular and national will. A top scientific bibliography already exists which, in an alarming indictment, deals with this process of transculture or colonialist cultural penetration. The many manifestations of this phenomenon in the lives of families, customs and other vital signs of culture have been noted in those studies. All this process has been aimed at depriving the Puerto Rican people of the national right to strengthen the essential characteristics which consolidate national coherence as an element of resistance in the face of colonialist penetration.

This drama for the survival of the Puerto Rican people's authenticity in the face of the U.S. assimilating penetration has taken on exceptional importance in connection with the problem of language. Replacement of the Spanish language was initially attempted through the establishment of English as a mandatory language, until in 1949, strong opposition forced a change. It was then established that teaching would be done in Spanish. However, as has been explained during this conference, the new decision has not been carried out completely, and the teaching of the Spanish language presents a situation of real inferiority, not only by the decision not being fulfilled in practice but also through the prestige given to private institutions which teach in English and to factors of privilege and exceptions given to the teaching in English in such private schools. In other words, good education is associated with the use of English and with the use of U.S. methods and textbooks, and education in Spanish is identified with the least educational effectiveness. If to this we add that in Puerto Rico English is employed by the highest social classes as a technological and financial language and constantly used by the mass communications medias, and there is real effort to give prestige to English and make the national language, Spanish, inferior, the degree of the imperialist and colonial crime becomes obvious, since this shows an attempt to destroy an element essential to the vital expression of a people—their own language.

However, as proof of the persistence of the Puerto Rican people and the will for resistance and aspirations for independence of a people, it is true that neither the legal and administrative decision which ordered teaching in English nor the current use of contemporary massive instruments of cultural penetration has broken the Puerto Rican authenticity. Spanish continues to be the colloquial language and the means of communication for the people in Puerto Rico. Spanish is the vehicle for the most valuable literary creations. Puerto Rican men and women express themselves in Spanish in their daily lives and also in their demands for independence and in their revolutionary language. They have been unable to take their language away from Puerto Ricans, just as they have been unable to take away their desire for and ideal of freedom. [applause]

To all these manifestations of colonial domination which allow us to declare here categorically that Puerto Rico is a true U.S. colonial enclave on this continent, we must add the juridical considerations which support such a statement, despite all



the deception and strategies practiced and yet to be practiced. This is important, because an attempt is being made to deny the colonial status, arguing the existence of the so-called associated free state and the 1967 plebiscite. There is also reference to an alleged situation of independence under the framework of a decision seemingly made by the people.

The establishment of the associated free state, it has been said repeatedly during this conference and in statements preparatory to the conference, has not essentially affected the typically colonial status of Puerto Rico. The U.S. Government on 30 June 1950 enacted law number 600 which authorized a referendum to accept or reject a constitution, but within the limits established by that same law. And what that law established was the conversion of the 1917 Jones law into the law on relations between the United States and Puerto Rico. It maintained in effect the structure of the colonial administration and established the organization of the local Puerto Rican Government. And although it appeared to be nominally eliminating colonialism, it established a legalistic and fraudulent way by which to make it appear to the world that there was a status agreed upon by the people being ruled—in other words, the establishment of colonialism with the consent of the colonized. The truth is that the associated free state perpetuates an administration that is less autonomous than the one Puerto Rico gained in 1897 with the autonomous charter granted by colonialist Spain.

With the associated free state of Puerto Rico, the colonial and imperialist power maintains its exclusive jurisdiction over sectors struggling for national independence or dependence, citizenship, foreign relations, defense, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, currency, maritime and air transportation, radio and television communications, labor-employer relations, housing, forestry reserve, public health and others. Thus it is obvious that Puerto Rico is a classical dependent territory that has not achieved its own government.

The famous plebiscite held in 1967, in which only 75 percent of the electorate participated, was characteristic of the colonial dominion, because in it only the two annexionist formulas were offered—that is, associated free state or the complete integration into a state. The threats and pressures of an economic nature that were made in case the independence formula triumphed, which was not offered in this referendum, which was held without consulting the people, made this hypocritical and pharisaical attempt of hiding the cruel and painful colonial reality a pseudojudicial masquerade that cannot undergo the most superficial analysis of institutional formulas and of the legal structure of dependent and colonial legal structure.

The decisions adopted in the United Nations dismissed the validity of that plebiscite. This explains why today new forms are being tried, which the U.S. Government is attempting to present as relations between freely associated countries. With this objective in mind, the ad hoc committee was created to study the social, political and economic relations between the United States and Puerto Rico and to examine specific areas of those relations existing between a power of an imperialist metropolis and a colony. Such a committee and its report, which were just mentioned in the final declaration that was read here, lacks the power to make a decision and represents only a new maneuver that provides no substantive reform in the colonial structure.

The conclusion that must be therefore derived from the analysis of the elements making up the colonial situation of Puerto Rico is that it constitutes one of the cases of survival of a territory dependent and subjugated to the domination of a metropolis, and that the cause of the independence of Puerto Rico does not admit the least doubt of its legitimacy.

Thus, it is not a case of a matter subject to juridical clarification in the light of international rights, much less in the light of the present day revolutionary concept in the context and meaning of real political and economic independence of a nation.

Puerto Rican independence therefore constitutes an impatient demand for real progress in the action to which the United Nations is obligated and, mainly, a cause, an objective of struggle that demands the international solidarity of the peoples. The history of the handling of the Puerto Rican case in the United Nations, in which the progressive forces attained victory, is current, and we must refer to it, especially because of the participation that the Cuban Revolutionary Government had in it through a conduct that will not be changed and that will never be regretted. [applause]

On 14 December 1960, the UN General Assembly approved Resolution No. 1514, which was called the decolonization charter. In it the organization declares that, among other things, the subjugation of peoples to domination or foreign exploitation constitutes a degeneration of the fundamental rights of man, is con-

trary to the UN Charter and compromises the cause of peace and international cooperation. The declaration also proclaims that immediate measures will be adopted in territories under fiduciary administration, in nonautonomous territories and any other territories which have not attained independence, in order to transfer all power to the peoples of these territories without conditions or exceptions.

In 1961 the General Assembly created a special committee to supervise the implementation of Resolution No. 1514, the so-called UN decolonization committee.

In 1964 the second conference of chiefs of state and government of nonaligned countries, which was held in Cairo, brought to the attention of that committee the Puerto Rican case and asked that the situation of that territory be examined in accordance with Resolution 1514.

After numerous vicissitudes of the treatment of this issue in the United Nations and after the plebiscite of 1967, it was not until 1971 that, at the request of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, the Puerto Rican case was formally included in the General Assembly agenda.

In 1972 the decolonization committee approved a resolution in which it recognized the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to independence in accordance with Resolution No. 1514. The report submitted by the committee was approved later on by the General Assembly.

When a new resolution was adopted in 1973, in which the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence was reaffirmed, the UN resolutions and decisions were supported by the conference of chiefs of state and government of nonaligned countries which was held in Algiers.

What took place in the debate in connection with Puerto Rico in the decolonization committee during 1974? The Puerto Rican participation in the debate through a detailed report and the Cuban confirmation of its position favoring the immediate independence of Puerto Rico, demanding the adoption of efficient and rapid measures that would guarantee that the Puerto Rican territory would be given assurances of the full implementation of the principles contained in Resolution No. 1514, created the conditions needed to revive the theme in 1975.

During the current year the committee reopened the case. A draft resolution was introduced. In it was reaffirmed the inalienable right of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, the recognition of the representative institutions of the people struggling for Puerto Rican independence, the petition to the North American Government to abstain from carrying out any acts of persecution and repression against the Puerto Rican fighters, the sending of a mission to Puerto Rican territory and the decision to keep the issue under permanent study. By means of a ruse contained in a procedural motion, the U.S. Government attempted and achieved a halt in the debate until 1976. It has been attempted to point to this action as a victory of North American imperialism. However, what has become notoriously and publicly evident is that to carry out this tactical move the U.S. Government was forced to exert humiliating pressures aimed at avoiding a majority vote against it. Suffice it to say that this can be verified by reading the 21 August special report carried by the New York TIMES.

Today we can confirm, as a result of the splendid expression of solidarity which this conference has provided, that such an alleged diplomatic victory is a mere incident in a process of vigorous struggle which not only has as a tribune the United Nations but also international forums of such high representation as this conference and as the conference of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries in Lima a few days ago. It is also not forgotten that the UN debate will continue, that the movement of international solidarity is gaining special significance and begins, effective today, a phase of growth, strength and systematic support.

It is often forgotten that aside from the support contained in international juridical standards and peoples' promotion of international solidarity, political, social and mass progressive forces of the world, and states—as in the Lima, Algiers and Cairo conferences of nonaligned countries—have declared their solidarity formally and solemnly.

The cause of independence of Puerto Rico basically rests with the never-ending will for struggle of its true protagonist—the Puerto Rican people: the same people who, through their best sons, proclaimed the Lares cry of independence against Spain; colonialism; the same people who were represented in the independence struggle in the Antilles by those exceptional fighters who identified themselves with the Cuban revolutionary struggle during the independence war, participated with Jose Martí in organizing the Cuban revolutionary party and continued the fight for independence of the Antilles in our 1895 war; the people of Sotero Figueroa

of Rios Rivera, of Betances and Hostos, the people of Puerto Rico; the same people who, with sacrifices of lives, of blood, waged unforgettable struggles on their own territory; the people of the 1950 revolution; the people of Lolita Lebron [applause]; the people of so many heroic and unselfish fighters; the people exemplarily represented in the life, work, heroism and martyrdom of Pedro Albizu Campos [applause]; the Puerto Rican people who today are with us and form the prestigious, large and distinguished representation of Puerto Rico at this conference [applause] as a perfect demonstration that the struggle continues, is renewed, is gaining encouragement and will win, and, for that reason, deserve the tribute of our recognition and the irreversible commitment of our solidarity.

We are aware of developments in this conference. Its result, in participation and representation, has surpassed the most optimistic expectations.

The presence of representatives from international organizations, national organizations, prominent personalities from the socialist countries, Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, Western Europe, Africa, Mideast, Asia and the Pacific, demonstrates that this conference has been able to give a vigorous response to solidarity. This solidarity constitutes—and this is its most significant importance—the beginning of a new phase of international struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The messages of support received strengthen the conviction of that hope and that purpose. We do not have the least doubt that the commitments of solidarity agreed upon here during this conference are, for all men, women and organizations present, true decisions for real militant action. And this event already makes it possible to proclaim that all situations of isolation of the Puerto Rican people have definitively ended, and that what has been declared and agreed upon here constitutes a platform of struggle for the sister peoples in all walks of life for unrestricted support for the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence. [applause]

To the men and women of the sister nation of Puerto Rico who have represented their people at this event, we tell them to go home assured of the consistency of this solidarity, of the profound seriousness of this solidarity, above all, encouraged to continue the struggle under the most consistent unity of the Puerto Rican people's liberation movement. [applause]

The success of this conference is brilliantly confirmed in the content and projections of the final declaration. This declaration summarizes the foundations of all types which guarantee the legitimacy of the cause of Puerto Rican independence. It denounces the dramatic conditions under which the Puerto Ricans live and calls for concrete international solidarity in support of the united Puerto Rican national liberation movement which is moving ahead and represents its people.

Just as the declaration proclaims, this conference has been held in the midst of a historic situation in which the balance of forces, the process of international detente, the accelerated process of people's decolonization, the imperialist defeat in Vietnam and the advances of the world's democratic forces give new perspectives to the Puerto Rican cause. To the peoples of Latin America the independence of Puerto Rico is an unavoidable condition for attaining the common historic objective. It is in this way that, within the different problems of the struggle being waged by each of our peoples, the duty of militant solidarity with Panama's recovery of the canal and the denunciation of and combat against the Chilean fascist crime and for the attainment of Puerto Rican independence become a single cause. [applause]

On behalf of the Cuban people, their Communist Party and the Cuban Revolutionary Government, we wish to take this singular opportunity, before the delegates who participated in this conference, to declare with the authority afforded to us by the history of our permanent solidarity conduct with the Puerto Rican cause and the historical identification of the revolutionary processes of the two nations, that Cuba resolutely reaffirms those feelings of solidarity and integrally ratifies its pledge of unlimited support for the Puerto Rican cause. [applause]

In some official or semi-official declarations there has been an attempt to show the Puerto Rican problem and Cuban solidarity as a significant impediment to U.S.-Cuban relations. The Cuban Revolutionary Government cannot accept involvement in the Puerto Rican cause and our unyielding duty of solidarity with it as a controversial bilateral issue between the United States and Cuba.

The Cuban Revolutionary Government starts from the premise that Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation subjugated to colonial domination and is not a domestic problem of the United States. [applause]

The mandate of history, the integrity of our revolutionary firmness, our condition of being Latin American nation unite us forever to the cause of Puerto Rico, and if in the course of the struggle for this cause a united movement for independence and liberation, which is recognized by this conference, emerges, the Cuban Revolutionary Government—after its position has been clearly explained by Comrade Prime Minister Cmdr Fidel Castro [applause] in connection with the problem of relations with the United States—loyal to principles, hereby reaffirms its solidarity with the Puerto Rican cause with the same deepfelt brotherhood and profound sense of historic unity that exists between the two peoples and with which Jose Marti founded the Cuban revolutionary party to fight for Cuban and Puerto Rican independence. [applause]

In closing this conference, we express our firm conviction—without ignoring the difficulties of the struggle and the dangers which may arise from new maneuvers, threats and pressures—that from this event will emerge not only the growth of the international solidarity that is being demanded, but also a strengthening of the renewed will for struggle of the united sister people of Puerto Rico.

With the memory of Puerto Rican independence heroes who one day, not forgotten by history, proclaimed the independence proclamation; with loyalty to the tradition of Latin American revolutionary thinking born in the common desire for freedom for the great Latin American homeland of Bolivar, and to the theoretical, strategic, clear and visionary concepts and leadership actions of Jose Marti, we proclaim aloud today to the world's conscience. Long live free Puerto Rico! [applause]

#### FINAL DECLARATION TEXT

[Text of final general declaration of International Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico read as part of ceremonies to close the conference and dedicate the Pedro Albizu Campos school in Guines, Havana—read live by staff announcer Manolo Ortega]

[Text] On the eve of the 107th anniversary of the Lares independence proclamation, an expression of the vigor of Puerto Rican nationality and the date on which the first republic was proclaimed, the International Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico has been held in Havana, Cuba. This great conference was held from 5 to 7 September. A total of 201 delegates and 34 observers participated, representing numerous social and cultural institutions; liberation movements; sponsoring committees; committees for peace; and labor, youth, student, women's, peasants, and religious organizations from 70 countries and 18 international organizations, making a total of 325 participants from different social and political circles.

The growing international solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence, of which this conference is an eloquent demonstration, comes at a historic time of momentous importance for the cause of the peoples. The world's balance of forces favors those who struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, social progress and socialism, and it is becoming increasingly unfavorable to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and international reactionaries.

The growing development of socialist countries, the fall of the colonial system, the historic victories of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples against U.S. imperialist aggression, the successes of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and also in Angola, the advances of democratic forces in Western Europe and other developed capitalist countries, and especially the fall of fascism and the beginning of the construction of a new society in Portugal, the development and consolidation of the Cuban revolution, the advances of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Latin America, the positions adopted by several governments of the American continent in defense of their natural resources and against domination by transnational companies, the development of the nonaligned countries' movement, ratification of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states having different social systems, the process of international detente reflected in the result of the European Security and Cooperation Conference held in Helsinki, and the strengthening of the militant cooperation of the anti-imperialist forces—all are realities characterizing the current international situation. These events pave the way for new prospects in the people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, racism and reactionaries, to attain full national liberation.

But imperialism, which has not changed its aggressive nature, still retains its economic and military power. It is trying to reconquer its lost positions and maintain the dominions it still has by systematically opposing the struggle of the peoples. This is noted in the Mideast, where the United States supports the expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles who refuse to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories or to recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their national authority on their own territory; we see it in Chile with its support of the fascist dictatorship which it helped to seize power; we see it in Portugal in the offensive of reactionary forces and imperialists who are trying to choke the young democracy; in Angola, the imperialists and their allies are working to frustrate the anticolonialist struggles and are striving to eliminate the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the vanguard of the liberation struggle of those African people; in Cyprus, the imperialist intervention is attempting at all costs to sabotage independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; in Korea, the aspiration of its people for peaceful and independent reunification is obstructed by the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism and its policy of aggression; and in southern Africa, the world's imperialist system maintains the racist regimes which oppress the African majorities.

All this shows the need to develop and intensify the anti-imperialist struggle everywhere. This is a historic moment in which international solidarity is reaching new and broader possibilities and is deeply encouraged.

In connection with the struggle of the peoples subjected to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the mighty anti-imperialist forces throughout the world recognize the unavoidable duty to increase their support for those who are fighting courageously for national liberation and their rights to full sovereignty and independence. These fundamental principles demand the most active solidarity of all fighters for peace in the world.

Colonialism constitutes continuous aggression against the peoples it has subjugated and a factor opposed to the development, consolidation and stabilization of peace.

The national territory of Puerto Rico is the most important colonial possession of U.S. imperialism. The delegates helped to show the different aspects of colonial domination imposed by the United States on that Caribbean island. They also reaffirmed their solitary willingness to support the Puerto Rican people's independence struggle.

In 1893, the U.S. imperialists invaded that small Caribbean territory with their military forces and snatched the rights to autonomy which the people had gotten from Spain after a long struggle. Since that time the U.S. Federal Government has exercised the most absolute dominion over that nation. The U.S. Government retains and exercises direct control over the colonial administration in virtually all areas of fundamental authority. These include, among others, defense and foreign relations, immigration and emigration, communications and international transportation, even labor-management relations and commerce.

The so-called associated free state is a disguise with which Yankee imperialism tried to cover up the typically colonialist nature of its armed intervention in Puerto Rico. The puppets in the colonial administration lack authority and their powers are limited to the appointment of subordinate employees and to attention to minor functions at the provincial and municipal levels.

The ELA [Associated Free State] was established in 1952 at the imposition of the U.S. Government, which, through law no. 600 of the Congress in Washington, placed the Puerto Rican people in the position of accepting the small reforms which the establishment of the ELA entailed for maintaining unchanged the situation existing up to that time.

Based on the establishment of the ELA, the U.S. Government notified the United Nations in 1953 that it would cease to provide to the world organization information on Puerto Rico which the United States is bound to provide by Article 73-C of the UN Charter. The United States claimed that the territory had attained its own government. This disguise helped it to obtain from the UN General Assembly, by a slight majority, an exemption from the stipulated requirement to report on its colony.

But 20 years later, in August 1973, the UN decolonization committee approved a resolution, ratified in December of that same year by the General Assembly, which recognizes the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in the light of Resolution 1514 of 14 December 1960.

The Puerto Rican case is the most flagrant case of colonialism—along with that of the Panama Canal Zone, the Falkland Islands [as heard] in Argentina, Belize, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Martinique and other Latin American territories.

The UN decision which inserts the case of Puerto Rico into the decolonization program of that world organization, as well as the growing solidarity with that just cause from the international community and especially by the socialist countries and the movement of nonaligned countries, represents an important victory of the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence.

Faced with the unmasking of the colonial reality in Puerto Rico, the U.S. imperialists, with the servile collaboration of their colonial officials, again are trying to deceive the Puerto Rican people and the world, making it appear that they are going to reform relations between the Washington government and the so-called associated free state through a new bilateral pact.

To this end they created several years ago an ad hoc committee composed of seven North Americans and seven Puerto Rican colonial officials and collaborators. This committee recently submitted to the President of the United States a draft for a pact of permanent union between Puerto Rico and the United States. The pact would maintain intact the structures of Yankee colonial domination and would prop them up, paving the way for annexation of the island as an incorporated U.S. territory.

To support these attempts, imperialism has maneuvered to the extent of gaining postponement of the debate and voting on the colonial case of Puerto Rico at the UN decolonization committee.

We denounce the imperialist propaganda of the U.S. Government which is trying to confuse world public opinion by presenting its relations of domination and exploitation with Puerto Rico as relations between freely associated states. We expose to world public opinion the colonial case of Puerto Rico where the direct U.S. colonial domination shows itself clearly without subterfuge and is always growing in all spheres of national life.

Puerto Rico is of extraordinary economic importance for U.S. imperialism. U.S. investments in the entire world, excluding Puerto Rico, amounted to 110.24 billion in 1974. That same year, its industrial and commercial investments in Puerto Rico amounted to \$6,112,000,000. In other words, direct investments in Puerto Rico represented 5.5 percent of its total investments throughout the world, excluding the United States. Direct investments in Puerto Rico were 20.9 percent of those in the rest of the underdeveloped countries and 40.3 percent of the total in Latin America. The profits generated by such investments amounted to \$1,345,000,000 in 1974. They obtain more profit from that small Caribbean island than from the European Common Market and half of the profit which they get from all of Latin America. The profits obtained by companies in different branches of industry was as follows: In the chemical industry, 34 percent of investments; in oil refining, 25 percent; in electronic and electrical equipment, 21 percent; in clothing, 24 percent; and in metals manufacturing, 25 percent of investments.

The rich minority of the population—20 percent—controls 51 percent of the national income. The poor receive only 5 percent of that income. It is no coincidence that a great portion of the population needs public assistance. This makes the Puerto Rican economy dependent, deformed, inflationary, and dissociated from national needs. Puerto Rico produces what it does not consume and consumes what it does not produce.

More than 2 million Puerto Ricans, or 40 percent of the Puerto Rican population, have been forced to emigrate to the United States, where they are concentrated in the ghettos of the big eastern and midwestern cities. These immigrants are one of the most oppressed, discriminated against and abused sectors in the United States. They receive the lowest salaries. They work under highly onerous working conditions. And they suffer, along with Afro-Americans, Mexicans, Asians, Indians and other minorities, from opprobrious political, social, economic, cultural and racial discrimination in the United States. Therefore, everything stresses the need for close unity between Puerto Ricans and the working class and the progressive and democratic forces in the United States for the liberation of Puerto Rico and, at the same time, development of the democratic and revolutionary struggle in the United States itself.

The colonial government intensifies the massive sterilization of women through the so-called family planning programs. About 35 percent of the female population of childbearing age have been sterilized already. Thus, along with the plans for massive emigration and the indiscriminate entry of foreigners who are enemies of the people, an attempt is being made to replace the population so as to dissolve Puerto Rican nationality.

U.S. imperialism uses Puerto Rico as a field for experimentation on techniques for sterilization and contraception which it later employs in other areas of the world. Puerto Rico is also a big military fortress for U.S. imperialism. More than 10 percent of the arable land is used for such means. The United States maintains there atomic armaments which endanger international peace and the security of peoples.

The CIA, U.S. Peace Corps, FBI and different agencies of the imperialist intelligence community prepare operations in Puerto Rico, repress the patriotic forces and promote or support counterrevolutionary groups from other countries forces specialized in repression are trained there. This extraordinary U.S. military force constitutes a constant threat to the national liberation movements and to the countries in Latin America struggling to gain economic independence, full sovereignty and defense of their natural resources. The invasions of the Dominican Republic and the frustrated invasion in Playa Giron in Cuba were perpetrated from there. Venezuela has suffered the threats of U.S. military forces in that island. Asia, Africa and even Europe also feel that threat. The defeat of colonialism in Puerto Rico and the total liberation of its people will be an event of profound justice which will allow the breaking up and dismantling of one of the most strategic military fortresses of U.S. imperialism. It will also be a valuable contribution to the cause of world peace.

All means of mass communication, educational programs and institutionalized churches, and many forms of social structure, and a preschool family education imposed by the United States serve the colonizing purpose of North Americanizing the Puerto Rican people. The people have been subjected to a process aimed at the destruction of their Latin American roots and culture. In this way, an attempt is being made to erase their nationality. Nevertheless, in the face of this alienating force, the Puerto Rican people have developed a strong and tenacious struggle for the preservation of their cultural values. In the midst of oppression, a cultural tradition is maintained which increasingly satisfies the people's firmness and their full originality. Participation of the workers, youths and students is growing.

The conference also exposed the dramatic situation being endured by Puerto Rican people in public health, which is extremely deficient and expensive, and this vital service is out of the reach of the people. There is also the chaotic status of housing and the environmental conditions of life which are becoming increasingly worse as a result of the pollution that is growing with the installation of highly toxic plants and factories in the island without the required conditions—something the metropolis does not allow on its own territory.

During 77 years of U.S. domination, the Puerto Rican people have maintained uninterrupted their struggle for national liberation. Today the independence movement is facing a new escalation of repression aimed at its leaders, followers and political, labor and student organizations, through the use of the most varied arms, murders, terrorist attacks, fabrication of criminal cases and campaigns to discredit the leadership and ideology of the revolutionary patriotic forces. In this way a futile attempt is being made to crush the liberating conviction and action of the masses.

International solidarity with the independence of the Puerto Rican people has taken big steps forward in recent years. These steps have been manifested in concrete events. Among these are the annual celebration of 23 September [the Lares revolt in 1868] and the support obtained in international forums. This solidarity has been fully reflected at this international conference and in its preparatory work which gained the support of broad and representative sectors of Latin America and the world. The preparation for the international conference and formation of sponsoring committees in many countries, especially in Latin America, are giving solidarity with the fraternal Puerto Rican people a magnitude or organization and scope never before reached.

Men in government, parliamentarians, political, labor and youth leaders, peasants, workers in the arts, culture sciences and education, and religious figures have declared themselves in favor of Puerto Rican independence. All these concrete, broad and massive actions have placed world solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people at a point never before reached.

This international solidarity will have greater chances for successful results with the broad and united participation of all anti-imperialist and anticolonialist forces of the Puerto Rican people. This combination of internal and external factors constitutes a fundamental basis for a victory in this noble cause.

The conference is the beginning of a higher phase of international solidarity with the Puerto Rican people's struggle. This phase is integrated with the entire anti-

imperialist, anticolonialist process for national and social liberation, peace, democracy, progress and socialism that is being developed in the world.

The participants in this conference consider it their unavoidable duty to maintain and increase world support and aid for the independence movement and Puerto Rican people. The delegates express their intention to hold a second international conference of solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico within the next 3 years. They urge the international preparatory committee and existing national sponsoring committees to devote themselves to work in the future to fulfill this objective.

They urge the strengthening of events of solidarity which traditionally are held on 23 September—anniversary of the Lares cry for independence. They urge expansion of the denunciation of U.S. military enclaves in Puerto Rican territory and work toward putting an end to the campaign of massive sterilization of Puerto Rican women. They likewise urge intensification of initiatives to demand from U.S. authorities the immediate and unconditional release of the patriots Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero and other Puerto Rican political prisoners. [prolonged applause]

The conference expressed the need for the UN decolonization committee meeting next year to be preceded by an intense world campaign of solidarity with the independence struggle of the Puerto Rican people.

The participants believe it is highly important that the general declaration of this international Conference of Solidarity With the Independence of Puerto Rico be delivered to the UN secretary general, to the chairman of the decolonization committee and to other UN subordinate organizations concerned.

The participants in the conference unanimously call for intensifying throughout the world the actions for Puerto Rican independence within the spirit of the contents of this general declaration.

Our conference adheres to the positions regarding Puerto Rico adopted during the meeting of the nonaligned countries coordinating committee held in Havana in March 1975 and during the fifth nonaligned countries foreign ministers conference in Lima in August 1975.

Our conference reaffirms its rejection of the colonial administration pretension to represent the Puerto Rican people. The Puerto Rican people are represented by their patriotic, proindependence and revolutionary forces [applause] which forge their movement for national liberation. [prolonged applause]

The scheduling, organization and development of this conference in which the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of the world have been broadly represented demonstrate that the just cause of the Puerto Rican people is deeply embedded in the conscience of the world.

The delegates to this conference express to the Cuban people and Revolutionary Government [applause], to the Communist Party [applause] and its first secretary, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro [applause] their deep gratitude for their fraternal hospitality, which is an expression of their unwavering solidarity with the great cause of people's liberation. [applause]

We have seen the Cuban people enthusiastic, united and full of energy, building the new society. [prolonged applause]

The liberation of the Puerto Rican people will be the realization of a great dream of the American heroes Simon Bolivar, Ramon Emeterio Betances, Hostos, Jose Marti and Pedro Albizu Campos. [prolonged applause] The Puerto Rican people's will for liberation will not be lacking, just as the international solidarity—which this conference again has reaffirmed and which will broaden and intensify in the historic reality of a world where colonialism is totally obsolete and untenable—will not cease to be present.

Long live a free, independent and sovereign Puerto Rico! [prolonged applause]  
Havana, Cuba, 7 September 1975.

[From the Daily World, Sept. 9, 1975]

PARLEY HAILS WORLD AID TO PUERTO RICO STRUGGLE

(By Portia Siegelbaum)

HAVANA, Sept. 8.—The international conference in solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico opened Friday in the Havana Libre Hotel with the participation of some 300 delegates from 75 countries and 16 international organizations.



Dr. James Marinello, president of the international preparatory committee for the conference, inaugurated the event, which is being held under the auspices of the World Peace Council. He pointed out that the current meeting, which was agreed upon last March at a WPC-sponsored gathering in Santa Maria del Mar in Cuba, was testimony to the wide extent of world solidarity with the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

#### CLOSE TIES TRACED

He traced the close ties between Cuba and Puerto Rico, going back to the revolutionary party founded by Jose Marti for Cuban independence and also for the liberty of Puerto Rico.

U.S. domination of Puerto Rico he emphasized, is marked by an unchanging determination to use it for military purposes.

The conference, he announced, will conclude with a ceremony in which the name of Pedro Albizu Campos is given to a secondary school in Cuba's countryside.

He wound up with a declaration that "only those who are near-sighted or malicious would deny that we are living in a time of détente," and he stressed the role of the socialist countries and of all progressive and peace forces.

The liberation of Puerto Rico, he stated, is a struggle that has no frontiers, adding, "We are living in a great time, a time of Vietnam and Giron."

#### VETERAN LEADER HAILED

The ovation that greeted his speech grew in intensity with the surprise appearance of Jose Enamorado Cuesta, now in his 90's, one of the founders of the Puerto Rican peace movement, who in the name of the Puerto Rican peace movement and the Communist Party of Puerto Rico presented his country's flag to Marinello.

Ismael Ramaya, secretary of the international preparatory committee, reported on the founding of support committees all over the world and on distribution of information concerning Puerto Rico, including the production of the film, "Puerto Rico" by the Cuban Film Institute, with the cooperation of Tirabuzon Rojo of Puerto Rico.

Noel Colon Martinez, president of the Puerto Rican Peace Council presented a detailed and historical analysis of Puerto Rico's colonial status.

#### DELEGATIONS

Delegations have arrived in Havana from 26 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and from the U.S. and Canada, from eight European socialist countries, 13 west Europe Countries, 17 from Africa and the Middle East, and nine Asian countries.

The U.S. delegation of 20, one of the largest, includes Helen Winter, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, USA; Grace Mora, head of the Puerto Rican Commission of the CPUSA; Piri Thomas, author; Judge John Carroll; Vernon Bellecourt, of the AIM and others.

In addition to Martinez and Cuesta, the Puerto Rican delegation includes Pedro and Laura Albizu Menceses, children of Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Mari Bras, of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Franklin Irrizary, of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, and many representing the trade union movement, the Federation of Puerto Rican women, etc.

At the conclusion of Friday morning's session, a special ceremony was held to greet a Cuban postage stamp issue honoring the conference.

[From the Daily World, Sept. 10, 1975]

#### PARLEY SETS BASIS FOR WORLD FIGHT FOR A FREE PUERTO RICO

(By Portia Siegelbaum)

HAVANA, Sept. 9.—The International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, which wound up yesterday morning, represented the broadest forces to date to come out in support of independence for Puerto Rico. The conference, which began last Friday, had 91 delegates and 34 observers representing numerous social and cultural institutions, liberation movements, sponsoring committees and trade union, youth, student, women's, peasant and religious organizations from 79 nations; 18 international organisms, making a total of 325 participants from diverse social and political forces.

A draft of the general statements from the conference was approved Sunday

night in the grand salon of the Havana Libro Hotel, where for three days delegates have been describing the exploitation of the Puerto Rican people as well as, in some cases, the exploitation and domination of the delegates' own countries by U.S. imperialism.

All pledged to give their solid support to the Puerto Rican people's struggle.

#### EXPOSED AT UN

Although the U.S. government recently stalled a decision on the colonial status of Puerto Rico in the UN decolonization committee, delegates to the conference here pointed out that in its desperate attempt to hang on to Puerto Rico, the U.S., through its heavy-handed methods, exposed itself to world condemnation.

Only last week at the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries in Lima, Peru, a letter was revealed, sent by the U.S. charge d'affaires in Tanzania to that country's foreign minister threatening that its support for the Cuban resolution on Puerto Rico in the UN decolonization committee would be regarded by the U.S. as an "unfriendly act."

Here at this conference this letter was referred to by a delegate from Great Britain, the Labor MP Peter Snape, as an example of how the imperialist powers and capitalist media ignore or try to cover up the machinations of the U.S. He said that only the British Communist Party newspaper, the Morning Star, reported the letter.

#### U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT

One of the largest delegations to the international conference came from the U.S. The statement by this delegation, as presented by Doran Weinberg, president of the National Lawyers Guild, on the first day of the conference, declared:

"We come before you today as representatives of the people of the oppressor nation to join in the struggle against the oppression visited by our government against the people of Puerto Rico . . .

"This conference is the result of the growing strength of the independence forces within Puerto Rico and the new relationships of forces which exists in the international arena today. The movement of non-aligned countries for control of their resources, the growth of socialism in the world, the struggles of people for peace and social justice, and above all the growth and continuing victories recorded by national liberation movements since the end of World War II.

"After referring to the recent statements by U.S. government leaders indicating their determination to obstruct the natural aspirations for the Puerto Rican people, the U.S. delegates' statement continued:

#### RESPONSIBILITY STRESSED

"We are sensitive to the fundamental responsibility of the people of the U.S. in this struggle, but we must be clear that it is a fundamental responsibility in two respects.

"As representatives of solidarity forces within the colonizing country, we are in a position to lend concrete assistance in the realization of the aspirations of our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters and as representatives of the progressive anti-imperialist forces of our own country we point out the concrete and organic relationship of the Puerto Rican struggle to the most basic aspirations of the working people and national minorities of the U.S.

The statement added that while in the U.S. the people are told to put up with unemployment, inflation, higher taxes and cutbacks in social services to solve the economic crisis, "It is evident that our enemy is a common one."

It continued:

"The participation of minority groups is particularly significant in this growing movement, and this is reflected in the U.S. delegation to this conference, which includes representatives of the two million Puerto Ricans and 15 million Mexicans living in the U.S., of the Afro-American community, which has an especially sharp understanding of the racism inherent in the U.S. exploitation of Puerto Rico, and of native North American people who were the first victims of U.S. colonialism and genocide."

The U.S. delegation's statement concluded:

"Our efforts in support of the Puerto Rican people against our common enemy will contribute materially to the success of our own struggle. It is becoming clear that the building of a movement in solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico is not merely a moral commitment out of sympathy with the colonial people. Rather it is an essential step in the liberation of the working people and oppressed national minorities of the U.S. from their own misery of exploitation."



## UNION ACTIVITY VITAL

They pointed out that while gains have been made in building this solidarity movement in the U.S., much broader and deeper participation is necessary, and that particular attention must be paid to those among the rank and file of the trade unions.

## FINAL STATEMENT

The final statement of the conference, unanimously passed by all the delegates expressed the intention to hold a second International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico within the next three years, issue a call to strengthen the intensity of the solidarity campaigns which traditionally take place Sept. 23, anniversary of the Cry of Lares, to increase the denunciation of the danger of the U.S. military enclaves in Puerto Rico, to work to halt the mass sterilization campaign that is being carried out there, to setup the initiatives to demand the unconditional and immediate release of Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero, to precede next year's meeting of the UN Decolonization Committee with an worldwide campaign of solidarity, and to submit the general declaration from this international conference to the UN Secretary General, to the president of the Decolonization Committee and to other pertinent auxiliary organs of the U.N.

Osvaldo Dorticos, president of Cuba, delivered the closing address, at the ceremony yesterday in which a secondary school in the countryside was named after Pedro Albizu Campos.

[From the Daily World, Sept. 13, 1975]

## KISSINGER'S HYPOCRISY

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is agitated because an International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, with representatives from 79 countries, held its recent sessions in Cuba.

He called it "a totally unwarranted interference in our domestic affairs."

With imperialist arrogance, Kissinger wants to forbid even discussion about the independence of Puerto Rico. When the UN Decolonization Committee recently held its discussion about Puerto Rico, the U.S. denounced it and boycotted the sessions.

Such hypocritical pretense is exposed by U.S. imperialism's own record, from waging war in Korea and South Vietnam to invasion of Cuba. U.S. imperialism even now maintains on U.S. soil bands of Cuban terrorists pledged to overthrow the Cuban government.

U.S. imperialism has special institutions designed for interference in the affairs of other countries. The CIA, for example, is responsible for assassination of political leaders, subversion, overthrow of governments and even murder of populations by poison.

The CIA, Nixon Administration, Pentagon and multinational corporations conspired to destroy Chile's Popular Unity government by organizing and backing the fascists.

Kissinger, delighted by the fascist coup in Chile, today is "encouraged" by rightist advances in Portugal. U.S. imperialism is "working in closest harmony with our European allies," he stresses, in interfering in Portugal's internal affairs. Aid is held in abeyance to help Portugal's reactionaries just as in Chile's case.

The record makes clear U.S. imperialism's interference with the democratic process and its violation of the right of self-determination of peoples and nations.

On the question of interference in the domestic affairs of others, Kissinger talks out of two sides of his mouth.

[From World Magazine, Sept. 20, 1975]

## LIBERATION FOR PUERTO RICO AND PUERTO RICANS

(By Grace Mora)

Puerto Rico is a colony of U.S. imperialism in a very special sense. The three million people living in Puerto Rico and over two million Puerto Ricans in the United States are victims of a special kind of imperialist operation. It is a colonialism that reaches across the Caribbean into the barrios, the urban and agricultural

slums where Puerto Ricans are forced to live in the United States. The same U.S. corporations oppress and exploit Puerto Ricans in both lands. The colonial conditions in Puerto Rico force the people into the barrios and slums of U.S. cities and farm areas. The Puerto Rican people in the United States—together with Black Americans and Chicanos—are the backbone of a community of 40 million victims of special oppression and exploitation.

In *The Colonial Plunder of Puerto Rico*, by Gus Hall, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, Hall refers to a report written 25 years ago on El Fanguito, the slums of San Juan, by the late William Z. Foster, for many years the CP's national chairman. Foster called El Fanguito "the most wretched of slums." Hall went on to say that, if anything, El Fanguito had grown more wretched, noting that now the big tourist hotels pour their raw sewage into the lagoons on which the slums are perched.

These conditions can easily be classified as one of the horrors of imperialism. But this is only one aspect of the exploitation. Now that the post-World War II rush of U.S. corporate investment in Puerto Rico—to exploit the cheap labor power—is ended, unemployment, is reaching disastrous proportions—currently over 35%.

United States government agencies control all political, economic, and social activities. Congress exercises exclusive jurisdiction over foreign relations, citizenship, the armed forces and military recruitment, foreign commerce, customs, transportation, exchange notes, post offices, television and radio, etc., etc., etc., Congress decides how many acres of sugar Puerto Ricans may plant on their island and how much of it they can refine, and how much can be exported. U.S. agencies have absolute censorship rights—they can prevent anything from coming into the island, including books, magazines and newspapers. They control freight rates. All sea traffic must be in U.S. ships. (Sounds like England and the American colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War.)

Federal judges are appointed by the President of the United States. The language of the people of Puerto Rico is Spanish, but it is not permitted in these courts!

U.S. imperialism has turned Puerto Rico into a military staging area. This was the launching pad for the expeditionary forces to Cuba, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic. This is the base for the nuclear strike force, poised to devastate any area in the Americas. The United States has refused to sign any nuclear treaty that would include Puerto Rico as a nuclear-free zone. The U.S. military has forced the inhabitants of whole islands to move so that they could move in, they have used other islands for target practice.

At the eastern tip of the island is the Ensenada Honda Base known as Roosevelt Roads. The U.S. Naval Command in the Caribbean and Antilles is established there and Puerto Rico is the seat of the Tenth Naval District of the U.S. Navy. Roosevelt Roads has a center for atomic submarines and guided missiles, as well as installations for aircraft carriers with thermonuclear missiles.

The islands of Vieques and Culebra are important military sites for naval operations. The inhabitants of these two islands have been deprived of the greatest part of their means of subsistence and many of them have been forced to leave. The people of Culebra have put up an extended militant struggle against the militarization of their island.

On Puerto Rico's southern coast there is a radar base and a training camp for the U.S. National Guard and Reserve units. There is another training camp in this area, Fort Allen (Salinas). In San Juan, there is Camp Buchanan, transit center for U.S. military troops. A powerful radio station operates under CIA supervision in southwest Puerto Rico, from which information is transmitted to and received from all of Latin America. On the north coast there are several satellite tracking stations as well as other communications and electronic espionage installations.

A low-key birth control movement began in Puerto Rico in the 1930s. Between 1940 and 1950, many private clinics were operating solely to sterilize women. In 1949, the government began recommending sterilization, and created a program of specialized clinics that sterilized 50 women a day. By 1950, 7,000 women had been sterilized. In 1965, the Puerto Rican Department of Health carried out an island-wide study on the relationship between cancer of the uterus and female sterilization and found that 34% of Puerto Rican women between the ages of 20-49 had been sterilized. The New York Times on November 4, 1974, reported that 19 free sterilization clinics opened up that year "operating a top capacity program of about 1,000 sterilizations per month." Puerto Rico has the highest incidence of sterilization in the world. A 1968 study by Puerto Rican

demographer Dr. Jose Vasquez Calzada demonstrated that 35.3% of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age had been sterilized. Studies by Columbia University demographer Harriet Presser show that Puerto Rican women are the youngest in the world to be sterilized; almost two-thirds of the women are between the ages of 20-40, with 92% under 35 years of age!

Here in the United States, we have to deal with the second aspect of the Puerto Ricans liberation struggle. What of the two million Puerto Ricans that have been forced to migrate to the U.S.? And do they, in fact, "escape"?

No way. They are super-exploited here. Here they must deal with racism, live in rat-infested tenements, send their children to inferior schools that are more like institutions with teachers who act more like guards—teachers who ridicule their language and customs, and ignore their heritage.

Half of the two million—1,125,000—live in New York City. It is estimated that 240,000 live in New Jersey; 125,000 in Pennsylvania—100,000 in Philadelphia; 110,000 in Connecticut; and 110,000 in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Although the large majority are concentrated on the east coast of the United States, there is a large concentration of 170,000 Puerto Ricans in the midwest, approximately 125,000 of whom live in Chicago; and there are 80,000 more in other parts of the country. The migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. increases when the level of unemployment in the U.S. decreases; the migration decreases when unemployment decreases in Puerto Rico. The majority who migrate are those who are being relegated to marginal status in the labor force by the U.S. monopolies in Puerto Rico.

The current population of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. is young: 80% are under 40; 48.6% are 17 or younger 31.7% are nine years old or younger. The median age is 19.

In the public school system of New York State, 9.1% of all students are Latin, with less than 1% of the teachers being of Hispanic origin. While 23% of New York City's public school pupils are Puerto Rican, only 0.1% of the teachers are Puerto Rican. Some 86% of the Puerto Rican students in New York City are below average reading levels. In New York City, where Puerto Ricans are one-fourth of all pupils, only 4,418 of 105,000 "non-English speaking" students of Latin background had any kind of bilingual instruction in the last year of school. A five fold increase in bilingual classroom teachers, from about 800 at present to 48,000, is needed to give these students help.

Puerto Rican children in New York City schools have the system's worst dropout rate—57% compared with 46% for Black youth and 20% for others.

In 1970, only seven Puerto Ricans graduated from Boston public high schools, two of whom went on to college. Many Latin students in that city are found to be up to six years behind in reading.

Within the New York school system there does not exist an efficient bilingual program that will enrich our history and develop our culture and language. Schools in general are inadequate. Many teachers are racist and/or insensitive to the needs of our children. Puerto Rican holidays are ignored, assuming that we should embrace U.S. culture and language. We are taught to honor U.S. "heroes," overlooking many Puerto Rican patriots who have contributed much to the history and civilization of Latin America.

"The students do not understand the English language." This statement artificially blows up the language problem which, in the main, applies only to the recently-arrived Puerto Rican child, and which, in the absence of discrimination and segregation, could be eradicated in a few weeks or months. This problem is projected as the general problem of all Puerto Rican children, thus the "language barrier" myth becomes the main prop of discriminatory practices in the schools. Also, the clear effect of discrimination and segregation are rationalized as expressive of a "tendency to keep apart from the rest of the children" and to persist in "talking Spanish." So it's that Puerto Rican children do not like to mix with the rest of the children, and not discrimination that keeps them apart.

Characterizing the Puerto Rican child as "restless, shy, undisciplined" is a very convenient method of distorting the real problem of poverty and discrimination, transforming it into a subjective, psychological question.

Keeping all this in mind, and the fact that the median age in the Puerto Rican population is 19, we must ask, how do they find jobs? How do they enter the work force in order to support themselves? What are their chances of finding meaningful jobs? Part of the answer to these questions is that they do not become part of the work force, they do not find meaningful jobs, and statistics prove that together with their Black brothers and sisters, the unemployment rate for these

youths is close to 50%. (The Young Workers Liberation League and Youth United for Jobs committees, with the support of the Communist Party, can be influential in organizing these youths in the struggle to demand jobs for all, to further the struggle for unemployment benefits for those youths that have never been employed.)

The labor force of Puerto Ricans residing in the city's major poverty areas, according to a recent survey, total approximately 44,000 men and women, or 51% of the Puerto Rican population 16 years of age and over. About 30,000 men and women are employed, and more than 4,000—or nearly 10%—are unemployed.

Puerto Rican workers are the most deprived of all workers residing in New York City's major poverty neighborhoods. They are far more likely than others to be unemployed or to hold low-paying jobs. Typically, they hold blue-collar or service jobs requiring relatively little skill. They are greatly handicapped in the competition for employment by poor educational background: on the average, Puerto Ricans 25 years of age and older have not gone beyond the eighth grade, while the majority of the area's residents in the same age group have completed high school or gone beyond. Lower educational attainment, unfavorable occupational attachments, and concentration in industries with relatively large seasonal fluctuations in employment combine to make for high unemployment among Puerto Rican workers.

An outstanding characteristic of the industry distribution of Puerto Rican workers from the city's poverty neighborhoods is their concentration in manufacturing; two out of every five of these workers hold a factory job.

The average income of Puerto Rican workers in New York is lower than Blacks or whites. Over half of the Puerto Rican men who work fulltime earn less than \$100 a week. As a result, Puerto Rican family incomes have fallen far below city-wide averages. Two-thirds have incomes of \$6,000 and under.

One out of every three Puerto Rican families is headed by a woman, and the average size of the Puerto Rican family is larger than for the rest of the population. One-third of Puerto Rican families have five or more members.

Many women work in the apparel industry, which has higher seasonal fluctuations than other industries, and accounts in part for the higher unemployment rate. Thirty-six percent of teenaged Puerto Rican females work. Puerto Rican women are the most oppressed sector of the Puerto Rican minority; they are oppressed as women, as members of an exploited class, and as members of an oppressed nationality.

The status of women in Puerto Rico is a colonial one; they still live in semi-feudal conditions. This colonial oppression follows the Puerto Rican woman who migrates to the United States. Her new home does not alleviate her triple oppression. On the contrary, it intensifies it. As a member of an oppressed national minority, under the impact of the most brutal national chauvinism, her economic, political and social status is determined by the policies of the ruling class towards minorities as a whole. There is a special ideological approach on the part of U.S. imperialism toward the Puerto Rican woman. Volumes of chauvinist, sexist slander against Latin women are printed by spokesmen of the ruling class.

Lait and Mortimer, authors of New York Confidential, once said, in referring to East Harlem, "In little Spain, sex is cheap, selling it is precarious and competition is not only voluminous, but perilous, for the girls will fight with knives over a prospect." This degrading concept of the Puerto Rican woman is part and parcel of the ideological approach by U.S. imperialism towards Latin women. The ruling class uses this approach to foment racism in the minds of white workers in the U.S., and as a dividing tool to suppress and exploit Latin women on the job.

According to government statistics, 200,000 Puerto Rican women are on welfare. This is not by choice, but necessity. As members of a national minority raised in a semi-feudal position in Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican woman receives an inferior education, and her ability to secure a well-paying job in the best of times is slim. With the high rate of unemployment today, it is all but impossible. It's interesting to note that the government is always prepared to release figures on how many Blacks and Puerto Ricans are on welfare, but rarely reveal that the majority of of persons on welfare are white.

Of the 200,000 Puerto Rican women on welfare, the great majority are mothers, and with this comes the problem of day care centers, which are almost nonexistent in the poor communities. The struggle for more—and free—day care centers is a constant one in the Black and Spanish-speaking communities.

## WHAT MUST BE DONE?

In the interest of the working class and of the struggle against national oppression, there is a need for special emphasis on organizing the unorganized. Many of the Puerto Rican workers are employed in the lowest-paying unorganized industries. It is necessary to give greater attention to the organizing of rank-and-file movements among Puerto Rican workers, especially in unions with bureaucratic, collaborationist-class leaderships as in the garment industry.

We must begin to develop the Centro Obrero Latinoamericano, an organization which embraces Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking workers. We must begin to build a united movement in the Puerto Rican community a movement that rejects non-workingclass petty-bourgeois radical concepts, a movement built on the basis of mass activity, mass involvement, especially in the fields of electoral and economic struggles.

We must promote unity of the working class in general. We must develop rank-and-file caucuses of Puerto Rican workers. This can be done through Centro Obrero Latinoamericano. In many states, Puerto Rican workers are concentrated in heavy industry—steel, auto, electrical.

It is a mistake to view the two million Puerto Ricans in the United States as "temporary visitors." It is true that some travel back and forth, reflecting the economic trends. But most are a part of U.S. life, a part of the U.S. working class. They are part of the 40 million suffering under the special systems of racial and national oppression. They are a part of the larger Spanish-speaking community.

The struggle for equality in the Puerto Rican community is closely related to the struggle for Black liberation. We must do more in finding ways and creating conditions for a closer unity between these two movements.

The struggle against the system of national oppression sustained by the fomenting of chauvinism is closely related to the other economic struggles of the working class and trade union movements. We must begin the work of convincing workers and the trade unions that, in their own interest, in the interest of class unity, they have to take up the struggle against discrimination. Racism is the main weapon used to divide the working class. Unity of all workers is key to advancing their common struggle for a better life, a struggle which will eventually culminate in the establishment of socialism.

And, finally, the U.S. working class, the democratic and progressive forces, must be reached and convinced that Puerto Rico as a nation has the right to be free. Puerto Rico is testimony to the hypocrisy of the U.S. bicentennial celebration. The people of the United States, cannot, in all conscience, celebrate their independence while the U.S. government holds Puerto Rico in bondage. As Karl Marx stated, "No nation that oppresses another can ever be free."

[From the Guardian, Sept. 24, 1975]

## U.S. DELEGATION TO HAVANA

Following are the names of the members of the U.S. delegation to the Havana Conference on Puerto Rico.

Frances Beal, Third World Women's Alliance, New York City; Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC); Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Margaret Burroughs, director of the DuSable Afro-American Museum, Chicago; John Carrol, Criminal Court Judge, New York City; James Early, coordinator of the PRSC, Washington, D.C.; Carlos Feliciano, Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners; Arthur Kinoy, Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People; Alfredo Lopez, executive secretary PRSC and member of the Political Commission of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP); Rosemary Mealy, Third World Coalition of the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia; Florencio Merced, member of the Political Commission of the PSP Central Committee; Tony Monteiro, Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation; Grace Morn, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP), head of its Puerto Rican Commission; Julie Niehamin, New York coordinator of PRSC; Ro Reilly, executive director of the U.S. Support Committee for the International Conference, Mass Party of the People; Antonio Rodriguez, secretary general of the Centro de Accion Social Autonoma (CASA), Los Angeles; Bill Scott, United Auto Workers, Local 664, Tarrytown, N.Y.; Piri Thomas, author and playwright; Irwin Silber, executive editor, the Guardian; Doren Weinberg, president of the National Lawyers Guild, San Francisco; Helen Winter, political secretary of the CP.

[From the Daily World, Sept. 25, 1975]

## PUERTO RICO CONFERENCE DECLARATION GIVEN UN

(By Amadeo Richardson)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Sept. 24.—Representatives from the recent international conference in solidarity with Puerto Rican independence yesterday officially turned over a declaration adopted at the conference to UN member-nations and the UN Committee on Decolonization.

At an afternoon press conference, two of the four representatives from the conference told reporters that they had chosen Sept. 23, date of the "Grito de Lares," the national holiday of Puerto Rico, to bring the colonial status of the Caribbean island to the attention of the UN.

The representatives were Doren Weinberg of the National Lawyers Guild, and Jose Antonio Franco of the United Church of Christ, in Puerto Rico. They stated that the General Declaration passed at the conference held in Havana, Cuba, gave new impetus and represented a new international commitment to the cause of Puerto Rican independence.

They said that copies of the general declaration, which reaffirms the colonial status of Puerto Rico, were being delivered to Kurt Waldheim, UN secretary general, and Sellim A. Sellim of Tanzania, president of the UN Decolonization committee.

Additional copies were presented to the Venezuelan Delegation, which this month heads the group of Latin American countries at the UN, and to Ambassador Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic, which this month represents the group of Socialist Nations at the UN.

## CUBA'S CONTRIBUTION LAUDED

Both Weinberg and Franco hailed the contribution of Cuba to the success of the conference. Weinberg noted the participation of the Socialist countries and expressed his gratitude to the GDR, who helped draft the final declaration.

They drew the attention of reporters to a Sept. 9 press conference of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who had denounced the conference and the host country, Cuba, as having meddled in the "internal affairs" of the U.S. It was noted that Kissinger's allegations received a rebuttal from Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, President of Cuba, who at the Havana conference declared that Cuba did not regard the cause of Puerto Rico "a mere bargaining matter in the bilateral controversy between the United States and Cuba."

## EVIDENCE OF VIOLATION

The speakers also pointed out that the attempt to define the Puerto Rican question as an "internal affair" of the U.S. was evidence of the continued violation of the Puerto Rican peoples right to self-determination.

Franco, alluding to Kissinger's statement as a false interpretation of detente, declared that the Havana conference presented a clear vision of detente, since the threat of war is a threat to the independence struggle of Puerto Rico as well as the rest of the Latin American countries.

He noted that 10 percent of the land in Puerto Rico was being used for nuclear arms purposes, which makes the island a "nuclear outpost" of U.S. aggression. He noted that Puerto Rico had been repeatedly used as the launching pad of invasions against Venezuela, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and other Latin American nations.

Weinberg added that detente would help to create a more favorable situation for the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

Franco noted the participation of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and others from Puerto Rico including labor, student and religious leaders, including a Roman Catholic bishop.

He stressed the role of religious figures.

"Religion has been used to give the 'benediction' to U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico," he said, but added that there was a growing sentiment among Puerto Rican Christians in favor of self-determination and independence.

Weinberg, summing up, stated that the conference outlined concrete tasks, including the struggle in the U.S. He said that the commitment obtained from the over 325 delegates had paved the way to hold a second international conference within three years.

[From the Daily World, Sept. 26, 1976]

## PUERTO RICO STATUS HELD TO BELIEF "BICENTENNIAL"

By Terry Sanchez

NEW YORK, Sept. 25.—More than 300 people at the "Grito de Lares" celebration here Tuesday were urged to place the struggle for Puerto Rican independence high on the agenda of the 1976 U.S. Bicentennial activities.

The call was issued by Florencio Merced, member of the national political commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PRSP), the main speaker at the celebration. He also urged that the "Grito de Lares" celebration next year be a united event, bringing together all Puerto Rican independence forces in the U.S.

The activity commemorated the anniversary of the 1868 uprising in Puerto Rico against Spanish colonialism, which has become the symbol of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence and self-determination.

Specially invited to the celebration, held at St. Mark's Church, were the U.S. delegates to the International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico held in Havana Sept. 5-7. Among them were Doron Weinberg, president of the National Lawyer's Guild and spokesperson for the U.S. delegation; Grace Mora, member of the central committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and chairperson of its Puerto Rican Commission; Fran Beal, chairperson of the Third World Women's Alliance; Piri Thomas, author; and Carlos Feliciano of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

Addressing the standing-room-only crowd, Merced pointed out that this year's "Grito de Lares" anniversary was being celebrated in an "important and encouraging context."

"On the international solidarity level," he said, "our struggle has achieved gains of singular and particular meaning. During this 'Grito de Lares' here and in Puerto Rico we are living a moment of clear and broad international offensive."

"This," he stressed, "reflects the hard struggle, full of sacrifices, being waged in our country for independence."

Merced emphasized the support given to the Puerto Rican people by the people of Cuba, stating that "their solidarity goes beyond that of a government or Party position; we are talking about a Party and a government that are carrying out the sentiments of the Cuban people who have made of our struggle their struggle."

Describing the overwhelming support received at the Conference from all parts of the world, Merced stressed the importance of the backing of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

He spoke of the need for Puerto Rican revolutionaries to clearly identify their allies, pointing out that the Soviet Union has never hesitated to vote in favor of the Puerto Rican struggle at the United Nations.

Merced emphasized the need for united support within the U.S. to the Puerto Rican struggle, regardless of political differences.

The main task ahead, he said, is to integrate the broad forces in this country that still have not been incorporated into the Puerto Rican struggle.

Other speakers Tuesday were the Rev. Jose Antonio Franco, a member of the Puerto Rican delegation to the Conference, and Doron Weinberg.

[From World Magazine, Sept. 27, 1976]

## THE WORLD AGREES: INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

(By Ellen Perlo)

"I spent three days in the future," Grace Mora said about her trip to Havana as a member of the U.S. delegation to the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico. Ms. Mora is chairperson of the Puerto Rican Commission of the U.S. Communist Party. "Here we are fed propaganda about all the shortages in Cuba, about rationing and not enough shoes or fancy dresses, but that is all irrelevant. It is a matter of priorities, and in Cuba the first tasks were to get the country running, to build up agriculture, to build socialism. They have wiped out illiteracy; there is no racism; there are no class differences—all are equals; all are compañeros. And the children are given everything, the children are the future."

She continued, "Let me tell you about the youth. About 100 pioneers came into the conference one day, and a 10-year-old boy made a speech about Puerto Rico that made the skin on my arms tingle. With great emotion he referred to 'solidarity with Puerto Rico, our sister nation.' A 10-year-old boy!"

Ms. Mora contrasted what she saw in Cuba with conditions in Puerto Rico, where there is 30% unemployment; where 13% of the arable land is controlled by U.S. military bases; where 34% of women of child-bearing age have been sterilized; where the CIA, the FBI, the green berets and other imperialist agents are trained for aggression against other countries, especially other Latin American countries.

Unemployment, the cost of living, inflation—all are worse than in the United States, she said, "Puerto Rico is a colony," she said, "and colonial conditions prevail there." The contrast between Cuba and Puerto Rico, between a socialist country and the colony of an imperialist aggressor, was especially sharp, she said, because of the historically close relationship of the two island countries whose struggles were parallel for so many years.

"In the Caribbean," she said, "Puerto Rico and Cuba are called the two wings of a bird."

This affinity made Havana the logical place to hold the International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, held from September 5 to 7. There were 325 participants—201 delegates and 34 observers—from 70 countries and 18 international organizations. Representatives came from every continent, with broad groups from Africa, Asia, Western as well as Eastern Europe, and from Latin America. Many Caribbean countries sent delegates, and Ms. Mora reported that all participants spoke as one against the colonial status of Puerto Rico and for the need to struggle for worldwide support in solidarity with the independence struggles of the peoples of Puerto Rico.

The conference was opened by Juan Marinello, Chairperson of the Cuban Committee for Peace and Sovereignty of the People. He was followed by Noel Colon Martinez, Chairman of the Puerto Rican Peace Council and spokesman for the Puerto Rican delegation. The official speeches were followed by two days of reports by conference participants—each delegation spokesperson spoke for 10 minutes.

What was the content of the presentations, I asked, and Ms. Mora went down the list: How U.S. imperialism related to their countries; how it intervened in their internal affairs; the impact of imperialism worldwide; the importance of supporting the independence of Puerto Rico and its designation as a nuclear-free zone in the Caribbean; the need for detente in the interests of world peace. Spokesperson for the U.S. delegation was Doron Weinberg, San Francisco attorney who is president of the National Lawyers Guild.

In the coming period, Ms. Mora said, the prime task of the members of the delegations to the conference will be to educate the people in their countries about conditions in Puerto Rico.

"Millions of people do not even realize that it is a colony. And the U.S. delegation has a special responsibility, as representatives from the oppressor country, to reach broad masses of people, especially working people, and to point out that it is in our interests, in the interest of world peace and detente, for Puerto Rico to be demilitarized. And to be demilitarized, Puerto Rico must be independent. It must no longer be the launching pad of U.S. aggression, the base from which to attack other countries, especially in Latin America, as it has been in the past."

"It was from Puerto Rico that troops were sent to Santo Domingo in 1968; the invasion of Playa Giron in Cuba took off from there; it was the training ground for CIA agents sent to Chile, and Portugal. The United States has atomic weapons there."

The general statement of the conference, which received a standing ovation by the delegates, defined the present situation, indicated the new forces that are lining up to change the status quo, and projected a course of action for the next three years, until the next conference. Of special importance was the emphasis on the setbacks suffered by imperialism and the development of the international process of detente, against aggression and war. The statement says:

"... The growing development of the Socialist countries, the collapse of the colonial system, the historic victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against U.S. imperialist aggression; the successes of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Angola; the progress of democratic forces in Western Europe and other capitalist countries, and especially the collapse of fascism and initiation of the construction of a new society



In Portugal; the development and consolidation of the Cuban Revolution, the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Latin America, the positions adopted by several governments of Latin America in defense of their natural resources and against the domination of the transnational corporations, the development of the non-aligned countries movement, ratification of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, the international process of detente which was reflected in the outcome of the Conference of European Security and Cooperation held in Helsinki; and the strengthening of the militant unity of the anti-imperialist forces, are all realities that characterize the present international situation . . ."

What can we do, here in the United States, to support the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico?

"We must educate the American people and the U.S. working class as to the actual status of Puerto Rico," she said, "and to the fact that it is in the interest of world peace for Puerto Rico to be independent. We must point out that especially on the eve of our bicentennial, celebration of our independence is hypocritical when we hold Puerto Rico in bondage. And it is also very important to put out literature in Spanish."

"We must form countrywide committees to work with the U.S. Support Committee. We should send delegations and petitions to Congressmen in Washington, directing them to pressure the government to support the resolutions in the United Nations against colonialism and for investigative teams to go to Puerto Rico to determine its status. This year, the United States was successful in having the resolution tabled, but if we start working now to build up support here, next year, when the resolution is brought up again, it will pass."

The next conference will be held within three years, at which time there will be reports from the countries around the world as to the progress made in support of the struggles for the independence of Puerto Rico.

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